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Current HISTORY

August



1930

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six of these expeditions.*

COMMANDER ROBERT E. PEARY

First to reach the North Pole, on April 6, 1909. The New York Times printed his preliminary story on September 9, 1909, sent from Battle Harbor, Labrador, where he first established contact with wireless communication on the return journey.

CAPTAIN ROALD AMUNDSEN

On December 14, 1911, Captain Amundsen reached the South Pole. His story of the exploit was published exclusively in The New York Times on Saturday, March 9, 1912, sent by cable from Hobart, Tasmania.

CAPTAIN ROBERT FALCON SCOTT

January 18, 1912, the British Expedition under Captain Scott arrived at the South Pole, to find Amundsen's records there. The party perished on its return journey. Scott's last message to the world, dated March 25, 1912, which was found with his body and those of three companions eight months later, appeared in The New York Times on Tuesday, February 11, 1913. With it was published the account of the expedition's efforts by Lieut. E. R. G. R. Evans, R. N., second in command of the Scott Expedition.

LIEUT. COMMANDER RICHARD E. BYRD, U. S. N.

First to fly over the North Pole, May 9, 1926. The message was sent by wireless to The New York Times from King's Bay, Spitsbergen. First news in The Times May 10; Byrd's personal narrative began in The Times on May 14.

AMUNDSEN-ELLSWORTH-NOBILE

The first message ever sent directly from the North Pole was received and published by The Times on May 12, 1926. It was sent by Fredrik Ramm, Times correspondent aboard the dirigible airship Norge, in which Captain Amundsen, Ellsworth and Nobile crossed the North Pole. The full story of the voyage appeared in The Times on May 12.

LIEUT. COMMANDER RICHARD E. BYRD, U. S. N.

November 30, 1929, brought the first message ever sent from the South Pole, sent by Byrd while in flight aboard the airplane Floyd Bennett on Friday, November 29. On December 2 publication of Byrd's own account of the exploit was begun in The Times.

THE NEW YORK TIMES UNPARALLELED ACHIEVEMENT, IN THE WORDS OF THE AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY IN COMMENTING UPON THE BYRD EXPEDITION, "HAS MADE CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERY AND PUBLIC EDUCATION AS IMPORTANT AS THOSE OF ANY LEADING SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS. THIS ACHIEVEMENT IS DUE TO NO LUCKY ACCIDENT, BUT TO A LONG CONTINUED POLICY OF SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT TO SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITIONS IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD."

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you command them with sufficient skill and perseverance. They will campaign under your leadership along any educational lines you choose. They will make you king or queen of any empire you select ▲▲▲ You can earn financial rewards and distinction in life by the use of this small army with its magic power, for with well directed education, obstacles are overcome ▲▲▲ By study you can increase your progress in business, in social or in civic life ▲▲▲▲

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CURRENT HISTORY

Book Reviews

The Adams Family

By STEWART MITCHELL

MANAGING EDITOR, *The New England Quarterly*

THIS book,* the author tells us after wisely assuring his readers in the preface that he himself is in no way connected with that family, is "neither history nor biography, but the interpretive sketch of the rise of an American family."



JOHN QUINCY
ADAMS

Cynics may wonder why the title was not modeled on the style of Gibbon, seeing that the story really begins with President John and ends with Brooks, the author—four generations from 1735 to 1927. Actually, the book comprises the characters and careers of three men, the two Presidents and the Civil War Minister to England,

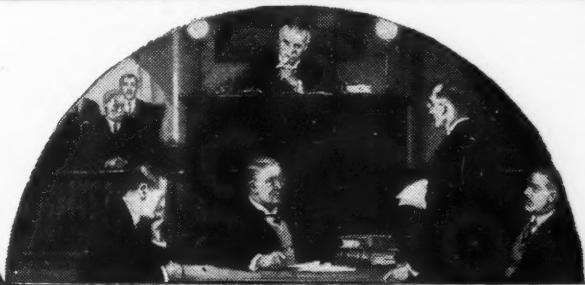
with an aftermath devoted to the frustrate lives of the four rather family-conscious sons of the latter. Continuing his narrative beyond the great diplomatic triumph of Charles Francis at Geneva in 1872, the author sacrifices all sense of the dramatic, for the cataract of energy which appeared so suddenly in John (and Mr. Adams insists on that word "suddenly") trickled out in four streams, three of which, at least, became more eccentric and obscure with every year. Today, the sole public character of the House of Adams, fifth in the generation of fame, lends distinction, to be sure, to a Cabinet, but a Cabinet singularly wanting in that quality. Acid observers might object that this describes "decline and fall" from John rather than "rise," and indeed the second half of this book

is littered with explanations of how it was that the Adamases lost touch with the public life of the United States.

The reviewer must quarrel with the initial assumption of the author, for any family, physiologically speaking, is a fiction, a very pleasant and necessary social convenience, a highly desirable method of identification in some cases, but a fiction just the same. It is difficult enough to delimit persons; to separate families is quite impossible. Curiously enough, Mr. Adams seems to suggest this flaw in the plot of his story in describing the excellent breed from which the mother and the wife of John Adams came, but he never states it clearly. The question cuts both ways: was John, then, an Adams or a Boylston; was John Quincy an Adams, or a Boylston, or a Smith? And what of the forgotten branches? In the eighteenth century the family, so-called, was prolific: Joseph II, for instance, "had three wives and eleven children, but we need consider only one of each." This Edwards-Jukes method will not stand up under strict examination; one has only to turn to that splendid pedigree of the House of Windsor in the first pages of Burke to discover persons coming in by marriage right and left, apparently from nowhere. The Adams blood today is a mixture of strains from all New England, illustrious and obscure.

If the author's physiology is casual, his sense of telling a story is swift and sure, in spite of occasional slips which his good friends will be quick to call to his attention. Apparently Mr. Adams forgot that Grover Cleveland sat in the White House from 1885 to 1889; it is by no means certain that the old method of listing students at Harvard was by social standing; John Corbin would rise up at the implication that Alexander Hamilton had been the "real power" behind the throne from 1789 to 1797, thus outraging Adams by his determination to continue as such

**The Adams Family*. By James Truslow Adams. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1930. Pp. vi, 364. Illustrated. \$4.



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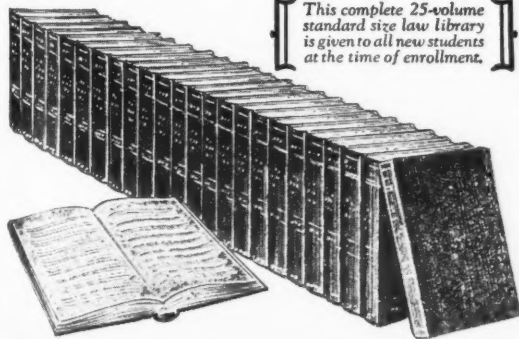
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thereafter; Jackson did not become President in 1828. These are minor matters, but more serious is a query as to the justice of the author's description of the outcome of the stalemate in the Presidential election of 1824. Fair-minded men agree that the cry of a corrupt bargain between Adams and Clay was partisan politics of the meanest sort, but there was bound to be an uproar at the result, and if Adams saw fit to offer Clay office, Clay should have seen fit to refuse it. If Adams had stood first and Jackson second, and Clay had elected the latter (who, even Mr. Adams admits, was second choice to himself in the States he carried), resentment in New England would have been a long time dying. Again, if as late as 1844 John Quincy Adams refused to see Jackson made a Doctor of Laws at Harvard merely because he was "a barbarian who could not write a sentence of grammar and hardly could spell his own name," John Quincy was not only ridiculous but wrong. In this connection it is important to remember that both the Presidents in the family refused to welcome their successors to office.

On the whole, however, Mr. Adams is eminently fair; his book is a lively description and not a hymn of hate or praise. His wit and sarcasm do not spare the faults and foibles of the seven men he sketches; vanity, self-importance, an exaggerated idea that the world was apt to be against them, want of business sense, the itch for writing, lack of humor, and an utter absence of tact. In the three great careers there were serious lapses of judgment: John Adams never appreciated Washington; his son leaned backward on his own friends while he was President; Charles Francis dawdled in Boston in 1861, waiting for the wedding of his son, when his immediate departure was of desperate importance. The author seems a bit wry when he takes care to point out that this first Adams, with a thoroughly "well-balanced mind," was the first to marry money.

Of the four gentlemen of the fourth generation, the Bayard of the House, John Quincy II, the usually defeated Democrat, is certainly the most engaging, whereas the author of the *Education* is almost pathetic. His pose of failure in the face of his great achievement in history, his perpetual anxiety for self-development, his almost greedy desire to get something for himself out of everything, his writing to Henry Osborn Taylor as late as 1915, "I need badly to find one man in history to admire," all these "de-

fense mechanisms" of the intellectual, wear down the patience of readers who think to remember his great gifts and his good fortune. One is happy to look back from all this to the "self-made aristocrat" of the Revolution, the head and founder of the House. Mr. J. T. Adams has no great love for what he calls "Democracy": phrases like "rubber-stamp representatives" and "the small-minded American electorate" slip out frequently on pages which contain explanations of the ever-increasing distaste for political life in this family. Skeptics may be tempted to ask themselves which changed more: the family or the public.

Although a bibliography of the vast literary output of the Adamses and footnote references to sources would have made this work more useful, the book is well illustrated, admirably proportioned according to the importance of the seven men, save one, John Quincy II, and full of shrewd asides. One reader has carried away from it a memorable revision of the three great services members of the House of Adams rendered the State single-handed: old John Adams restoring peace with France, in spite of the ruin of his party and the rage of Alexander the Great Hamilton; John Quincy fighting alone, year after year, for the right of the people to petition their Congress; Charles Francis winning peace through arbitration at Geneva in the face of the mischievous ineptitudes of the elegant, unstable Sumner. Such a record of achievement is more than apt to make descendants self-conscious and shy.

England: Its Character and Genius

By FREDERIC A. OGG

AUTHOR OF *English Government and Politics*

THE original German edition of this book*—the handiwork of a Professor of English at the University of Berlin—was published in 1923, and the present translation is based on the fifth revised edition, issued recently enough to contain allusions to the Kellogg pact and other matters still fresh in the public mind. As Dr. A. D. Lindsay, the Master of Balliol College, observes in an illuminat-

**England: Its Character and Genius*. By Wilhelm Dibelius. Translated by Mary Agnes Hamilton. Harper & Brothers. 1930. \$5.



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ing introduction, the volume is in a sense a war book. That is to say, it was inspired by the author's desire to help the German nation to understand the people with whom it had been fighting. But of course this constitutes a war book of a very special and rather novel kind. If called forth by war, it looks to that sort of international understanding which is the surest guarantee of peace.

Few, if any, books of the past year have been received with wider and louder acclaim; and praise of it has perhaps been most unstinted in England itself. The previous work with which it is most often compared is Bryce's *American Commonwealth*; and in point of range of subject-matter, perspicacity, judiciousness and power of interpretation the comparison is apt. Apparently we must continue to expect the finest appraisals of peoples and their institutions to come from the pens of foreigners.

In accordance with its avowed purpose, the present work is almost entirely one of interpretation. It contains some history and some descriptions of institutions—political, economic and social. But one will not go to it for information, or if he does, will not obtain as much as could easily be gleaned from a score of other works. Indeed, in matters of detail, the author, as might be expected, is not infrequently misinformed, or at all events is led by his larger purpose, and by his literary style into factual inaccuracies. The book, as he himself observes, "is not meant to be a compendium of facts, but to help to make understood the soul of a people."

"Making understood the soul of a people" is an ambitious task. Within a fortnight the reviewer has heard it proposed to launch a vast and long-time research program to determine precisely what it is that makes a Frenchman "French" and a Spaniard "Spanish"; and able psychologists and social scientists have pronounced the project so baffling as perhaps to be impossible of execution with any measurable degree of success. Employing only his own sharp observation and keen powers of analysis, Professor Dibelius has, however, admittedly taken long steps toward showing what it means to be an Englishman, and why.

Of the four books into which the work is divided, the first deals with "The Country and Its People," closing with a fertile chapter on national characteristics; the second, and probably the least valuable, has to do with "The Constitution," i. e., the system of government and law, includ-

ing political parties and the rôle of the press; the third treats of "Religion and the Church," embodying an exceedingly suggestive interpretation of the relation of the churches to the national spirit and life; and the fourth describes—also with remarkable success—the rôle of education, elementary, secondary and higher. Two chapters of "Conclusions" serve to synthesize the study as a whole and to bring the picture into clear relief.

The characteristics of the English people which most impress the author seem to be idealism and individualism. The former, he admits, is not commonly imputed to them by Continental critics, who are prone to regard the Englishman as hard-headed, practical, matter of fact and even mercenary. Especially is this view likely to be taken in respect to English foreign and imperial policy. Professor Dibelius thinks otherwise. "English policy," he says, "has never been infected by that myth of a materialistic age which sees political events as mere struggles for food and shelter. On the contrary, it has shown quite incomparable intelligence in appreciating the mighty force of the movements of ideas and using them for political purposes. * * * When British propaganda succeeds in using spiritual and material forces, the idealists and the egoists, concurrently, it is almost irresistible."

As for individualism, Professor Dibelius rightly points out that "the modern idea that the relations of the millions of human beings must be regulated by law, that there is a communal life above individual life, that the State has paramount rights over the individual, is much less developed in England than in Germany, France or any other modern community. * * * There is no paramount right of the State as such over the individual; there are rather innumerable single and private rights, of which various rights of the King, representing the State, are a certain category. * * In the last analysis, English freedom is the *liberum veto* of the individual against the collectivity; if it is innocuous, the reason is that there is, in the Englishman, a combination of dislike for logic and a sound political instinct that saves him, except in very rare cases, from drawing the logical consequences of his own principle."

The last great question which the volume raises is nothing less than, What has Anglo-Saxon culture done for the world? Approaching it with becoming caution and humility, the author finds much to be said for the Englishman's "sanity in body and

CURRENT HISTORY FOR SEPTEMBER

Among the Features:

1. An article on the subject of ***Recognizing Russia*** written by one, who for valid reasons must remain anonymous.
2. ***A smashing reply*** to the above, strongly supporting the attitude of Secretaries of State—Colby, Hughes, Kellogg and Stimson by the famous publicist John Spargo.
3. ***Unemployment***—An important study of the world situation and its causes by Nathan Fine of the Rand School of Social Science.
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soul"; his readiness (notwithstanding lip-service to "fashionable democratic catch-words") to take his standards, political, social, religious and personal, from his betters; his supreme common sense, his skill in transforming an antagonist into a privileged colleague, and, above all, the "free state" which he has created, as a structure in which full play is given to the natural forces that go to the building of society—a state "such as has made the State well-nigh superfluous." By the side of the last-mentioned development, we are told, "all England's other achievements pale."

Over against these, Professor Dibelius sets, as the world's chief and most valid objection to the Englishman, his "one domineering quality, his lust for power which all the outside world feels as a danger, readily as it admits his lasting contributions to civilization." This quality is a basic fact in the English character. "It would be a loss to the world if there were no powerful England, but it would be a lasting detriment to the world, inclusive of England, if ever England were to become all-powerful."

For vivid, fearless, objective writing on the spirit and genius of a great contemporary people, Dibelius's *England* promises long to stand unmatched.

The Church and Politics

By JONATHAN F. SCOTT

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

DR. HIRAM WESLEY EVANS, Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, is himself convinced and seeks to convince lethargic "liberals" that the political activity of the Roman Catholic Church constitutes a grave menace to American unity. Catholic theory, he argues, puts the Church above the State and the Pope above the Church. The Papacy, he maintains, claims the obedience of Catholics throughout the world in political as well as spiritual matters, and in case of a conflict between the jurisdiction of the State and that of the Church the Papacy will always insist on loyalty to the Church's jurisdiction. The Church claims authority in matters of education and marriage which, according to what Dr. Evans calls "American principles" rightfully fall under the jurisdiction of the State. To enforce its will upon Catholics the Church uses the dread weapon of ex-

communication, resorted to as recently as 1928 in the case of some French Canadians in Rhode Island. Furthermore, owing largely to the influx of Southern European immigrants since 1890 the power of Catholicism has greatly increased in this country. A conflict between Catholics and those who believe in American principles is inevitable, Dr. Evans asserts, and it behooves loyal Americans to be prepared. "We who believe in Liberal principles," he says, "do intend to run the country. * * * We are determined that it shall remain 'predominantly Protestant and Anglo-Saxon.'"

Any one who assumes that Dr. Evans is simply a demagogue to be dismissed by intelligent people with a laugh or a sneer will do well to read his book.* It is no mere diatribe against Roman Catholicism. He has put into it much study and thought. He quotes from Church documents, the teachings of Catholic theologians and other trustworthy sources to prove his contentions. He has built up an impressive case against the Catholic Church. Any intelligent, fair-minded reader of his book must admit that the political activity of the Roman Church constitutes something of a problem. In localities where Catholics predominate it may be taken for granted that they will use their political power to further their own ends, in particular to strengthen parochial schools and to control public schools.

It seems probable, however, that Dr. Evans exaggerates the danger of Catholic activity. In the first place, Catholics constitute a distinct minority in America. In the second place there is a vast difference between Catholic theory and Catholic practice. Dr. Evans fails to appreciate the influence of patriotism on Catholics in all enlightened countries. History shows that over and over again Catholic laymen have resisted the encroachments of the temporal power of the Papacy. If Catholics are treated with fairness and tact there is no reason to assume that they will be found lacking in loyalty to America. Of course there is the possibility that they might be goaded into making trouble by the methods sometimes pursued by Klansmen. In fact, it is a grave question whether the Ku Klux Klan is not more of

**The Rising Storm: An Analysis of the Growing Conflict Over the Political Dilemma of the Roman Catholics in America.* By Dr. H. W. Evans. Atlanta: Buckhead Publishing Company. 1930. \$2.50.

a menace to American principles than is the Roman Catholic Church.

Dr. Evans does not object to any Church engaging in politics so long as it makes no claim to special authority and aims not at self-aggrandizement but at needed reforms. In this particular he is at one with Stanley High, Editor of the *Christian Herald*, who maintains that the Church (by which he means the Christian denominations as a whole) is and ought to be in politics to advance moral causes.† Mr. High takes issue with those who contend that the Church should confine itself to its "spiritual functions." Experience has shown, he holds, that the efforts of the Church to regenerate society through conversion to the Christian way of life have not accomplished enough. Church members have been too prone to have one code of ethics for Sunday, another for the rest of the week. The individual who was supposed to be brought into closer relationship to God through conversion "was frequently indifferent to the conversion of society." Since, then, it is a primary task of the Church to work wholeheartedly for the moral welfare of mankind it becomes its duty to engage in politics which, as Cardinal Manning once said, are "the morals of society."

The record the Church is now making in politics is encouraging to Mr. High. The Church, he claims, is not using questionable tactics or allying itself with questionable interests or supporting purely partisan causes even to attain ends justifiable in themselves. It is not using politics as a lever for self-aggrandizement, as has happened at intervals in its history. "The Churches of the United States," he says, "have gone into politics exclusively on behalf of moral issues and never for their own ecclesiastical or temporal aggrandizement." They have striven zealously through political activity to stamp out the liquor evil, and have been more successful than their critics admit. Mr. High congratulates the Churches on their efforts to do away with economic exploitation and to eliminate war. He hopes that they will continue to show the courage of their convictions and that, even if the Christians of today suffer something of the martyrdom of earlier Christians, they will remain steadfast in their efforts to promote moral progress through political activity.

A skeptic, knowing something of the history of the Church, may question

†*The Church in Politics*. By Stanley High. New York: Harper & Bros. 1930. \$2.



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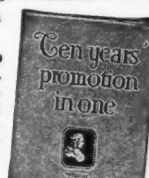
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whether many of the clergy will have the courage to carry on in the face of the opposition their efforts are likely to arouse. It is to be hoped, however, that Mr. High is justified in his optimism.

The Rev. Rembert Smith, a Southern Methodist clergyman and a former professor in Emory College, holds with Mr. High and Dr. Evans that the Church should engage in politics to promote moral and social reform.[†] But he claims to be decisively opposed to any union between a Church and a political party. In particular he criticizes with fiery severity Bishops Cannon, Moore, Mouzon and Du Bose of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, for their part in forming and leading the anti-Smith group of Democrats which supported Mr. Hoover and the Republican party in the campaign of 1928.

In view of Mr. Smith's criticism of the Bishops for plunging into political strife it might be expected that he would himself be careful not to show strong party bias. In crossing swords with Bishop Du Bose, however, Mr. Smith commends certain Southerners for "remaining loyal to the Democratic party, resisting his [Bishop Du Bose's] banal blandishments to bolt to the party of Vane and Moses and Mellon, the party of noxious normalcy, of plutocratic privilege, of reaction in international politics, of scorn for the farmers, of chronic contempt for the South, of lax Laodicean enforcement of the prohibition laws." Mr. Smith's alliterative indignation suggests the suspicion that he might not have been as critical of the four Bishops had they campaigned for the Democratic rather than for the Republican party.

Of the three books Mr. High's is the best. It is not a profound study but it is temperate in tone, clearly written, logically developed. Dr. Evans's book, thoughtful as it is, is an ex parte argument which should be read in connection with Catholic arguments on the relation of the Roman Church to politics. Mr. Smith's book is less a reasoned discussion than a collection of extracts revealing the turmoil and strife within the Methodist Church during the campaign of 1928. The three books, approaching the problem of the Church in politics from three different angles, are an indication of a growing ferment in the religious world with significant potentialities both for good and ill.

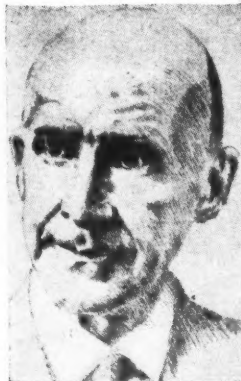
[†]*Politics in a Protestant Church.* By Rembert Gilman Smith. Atlanta: The Ruralist Press.

Eugene V. Debs

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

MEMBER, NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA

BOTH these books* undertake the identical task, although from somewhat different approaches, of appraising the character, life and work of that extraordinary American, now dead about four years, Eugene V. Debs. It is not an easy task.



EUGENE V. DEBS

The raw material of his biography is very simple, almost commonplace. Born in 1855 in Terre Haute, Ind., of poor Alsatian immigrants, he received but a scanty school education and went to work at the age of 15. At 24 he was elected City Clerk of Terre Haute and held the office four years. In 1885 he became a member of the Indiana State Legislature, in which capacity he served only one term. His connection with the labor movement dates from 1875, when at the age of 20 he joined the Terre Haute lodge of the newly formed Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. Five years later, when the brotherhood was practically shot to pieces, Debs was persuaded to accept the office of secretary-treasurer of the organization and editor-in-chief of its publication, *The Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*. In twelve years of arduous and unremittent work in this dual position he succeeded in building up the brotherhood to a point of unprecedented strength and prosperity.

Debs was now a well-situated labor leader, drawing a salary of \$4,000 a year, with an apparently assured and comfortable future ahead of him, but an easy life and comfortable career did not appeal to him. In 1892 he threw the convention of the brotherhood into consternation by the unexpected announcement of his resignation. He had come to believe that the organization of the workers in the numer-

**Eugene V. Debs: A Man Unafraid.* By McAlister Coleman. Pp. 345. New York: Greenberg. 1930. \$3.50.

That Man Debs and His Life and Work. By Floy Ruth Painter. Published under the auspices of the Graduate Council, Indiana University. 1930. Pp. 209.

ous railway crafts into separate and independent "brotherhoods" was ineffective and conceived the idea of one all-embracing organization of railroad workers. In the Summer of the next year the American Railway Union was organized and Debs was elected its president at a salary of \$75 a month. The success of the new organization was spontaneous. In the first year of its existence no fewer than 150,000 workers in all branches of railroading rallied to it. Its career was meteoric. After two victorious fights to avoid drastic wage cuts on the Southern Pacific and Great Northern Railroads, the union, espousing the cause of the much-abused employes of the Pullman Company, embarked upon the most spectacular and embittered strike in the history of American railroads.

The famous Pullman strike of 1894, which was led by Debs and for a time practically paralyzed railroad communication between East and West, was broken by Federal troops sent by President Cleveland to Chicago against the protests of the Governor of Illinois and by a sweeping and drastic writ of injunction issued by the Federal courts in Illinois. For an alleged contempt of this injunction Debs served a jail sentence of six months. The American Railway Union collapsed after the ill-fated Pullman strike, and with it vanished Debs's radiant ideal of one big union of all railroad workers. The strike marks the close of Debs's active career in the trade union movement. Hereafter his activities were wholly confined to politics.

Starting as a conventional and rather conservative Democrat, he had, through years of study and reflection, become converted to the philosophy of socialism. In 1898 he organized a new party under the name of Social Democracy, which two years later united with the dissident wing of the pre-existing Socialist Labor party in forming the present Socialist party. The rest of Debs's life was given to the propaganda of socialism. Five times he led his party in national campaigns as its candidate for the Presidency of the United States. Between campaigns he ceaselessly advocated the cause of socialism by word and pen. For his opposition to the war he was indicted under the espionage act, convicted and given a jail sentence of ten years, of which he served thirty-two months, being pardoned by President Harding in December, 1921. He died on Oct. 20, 1926.

Eugene V. Debs was not a theoretician. He was not the founder of a new social or



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political school. He held no public office of importance. He did not even leave a powerfully organized political party behind him. Measured by conventional standards, the concrete and "practical" achievements of his life and work are not of striking significance. And yet, there are few men who stood out in the public life of America within the last three decades as distinctly as he, and still fewer men who have had such a strong grip on the imagination and affections of large masses of the people. He was an exceptionally eloquent speaker and he had developed an exquisite style of writing. Yet it is neither as speaker nor as writer that he is generally remembered, but just as Eugene V. Debs—"Our Gene," for his significance lay entirely in his extraordinary and magnetic personality, in the irresistible charm which pervaded the atmosphere far beyond the bounds of his personal contact. A born crusader, with a burning hatred of all forms of social injustice, his ruling passion was yet a deep, sincere, almost dynamic love of everything that bore human countenance. The most penetrating insight into Debs's character and power is probably revealed in the oft-quoted lines of the Hoosier poet, James Whitcomb Riley:

And there's Gene Debs—a man 'at stands
And jest holds out in his two hands
As warm a heart as ever beat
Betwixt here and the judgment seat.

I question whether any biographer can do justice to his subject without a large measure of sympathy, but I am quite convinced that the life of Debs can be told adequately only by one who senses that his "warm heart" was the key to his life and work. And therein lies the excellence of McAlister Coleman's book. The author approaches his subject frankly as an admirer of Eugene V. Debs. He follows him step by step almost from the cradle and down to the grave, always sketching him against the background of his changing environment, always analyzing his actions and conduct in the light of the social and economic conditions which determined them, but back of it all always focusing his attention on the individuality of his hero. As a result we have a very satisfying biography of Eugene V. Debs. Readers of the book may disagree with the author's estimate of the character of his subject, the soundness of his views and the wisdom of his actions, but they have before them all the facts of Debs's life and an adequate explanation of the reasons why he was so hated by some and loved

by many. Like most good modern biographers, Mr. Coleman includes an interesting sketch of the world in which his hero moved and of the social and political history of his time. The book is exceedingly well written and makes easy and interesting reading.

Dr. Painter's book is written in a more academic style and spirit. The author is not concerned so much with the individuality of Eugene V. Debs as with his public activities and political views. These she weighs carefully and objectively, though in a vein of sympathetic comprehension. Her statements of fact are always well documented, whenever possible from official sources, and her analysis of his views are supported not only by copious quotations from Debs's writings and speeches but also by the opinions of numerous authoritative contemporaries. The book shows evidence of painstaking and discriminative research and contains a wealth of interesting material and an elaborate bibliography.

Builders of the Bay Colony

By E. FRANCIS BROWN

A CENTURY ago Daniel Webster, in his reply to Hayne, thrilled the United States Senate and its gallery with his panegyric: "Massachusetts. There she is—behold her, and judge for yourselves. There is her history: the



JOHN WINTHROP

world knows it by heart. The past at least is secure." Since Webster's sonorous oratory rolled away, impious scholars and a generation of debunkers have arisen to examine the history of the old Bay State with unsympathetic minds, proving to their own satisfaction as well as to the satisfaction and undisguised delight of many others that its past is anything but secure. More recently a sympathetic yet objective scholar, Samuel Eliot Morison, has re-interpreted and re-evaluated many chapters of Massachusetts history, reconstructing in proper perspective the ear-

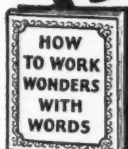
lier society and institutions of the great Commonwealth. His latest study, *Builders of the Bay Colony*,* is a contribution to the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of Massachusetts Bay.

While this work, as its title indicates, is a series of biographical studies, it is more than that; the sketches are placed against a background representing the various aspects of early Colonial life, economic, cultural, political. The selection of the personalities depended, as the author admits, not on eminence or importance, but on their relation to various forms of life. Throughout these personalities is the "dynamic force called Puritanism," a misinterpreted and misunderstood spirit. "Puritanism," as Morison says, "was a way of life based on the belief that the Bible was the word of God, and the whole word of God. Puritans were the Englishmen who endeavored to live according to that light." Coarse in an age of coarseness, bigoted in an age of bigotry, they placed more stress on the joys of the inner life than on those of the senses and succeeded in sounding the spiritual depths which are realized only in the great ages of religious experience. Filled with this spirit "men of learning and women of gentle nurture led a few thousand plain folk to plant a new England on ungrateful soil."

But before this mass migration, New England had been visited and advertised by several adventurous Englishmen and notably by that doughty captain, John Smith. A *Description of New England* and his other writings helped to familiarize the region to his readers and demonstrated the faith that "God in his good time would bring the English to New England." Among the promoters of actual settlement about the shores of Massachusetts Bay was Master John White, rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity in Dorchester. A shepherd and leader, he was troubled by the social and economic distress caused by the enclosure movement and foresaw the development of overseas fisheries as a way out. White, with others, organized the Dorchester Company of Adventurers, and while they failed of their purpose, White lost none of his zeal but turned to promote the organization of the Massachusetts Bay Company. This company in 1630 moved bag and baggage to Massachusetts to form the new colony. When mass emigration

**Builders of the Bay Colony*. By Samuel Eliot Morison. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1930. Pp. xiv, 364. \$5.

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began, John White organized groups of emigrants and further stimulated interest by writing *The Planters Plea*. He never saw the new colony; yet through years of storm and stress at home his interest and support of the settlements never failed, and John White may well be regarded as "under God one of the chief founders of the Massachusetts Colony."

One of the most interesting of those leaders who emigrated to the new land was John Winthrop. Born to be an English-country squire and polished at Trinity College, Cambridge, he accepted Puritanism in its golden age and became involved in the "heavy Affliction" which lay upon all the land of England. For some reason, when the Massachusetts Company was considering the transfer to New England, Winthrop was selected as leader and was offered the governorship of the company. Anxious to escape the corruptions of English life as well as the religious and political storm and stress, he accepted the trust and sailed for the promised land on the *Arbella* in 1630. For nineteen years he served the company and Colony, nine years as governor. During that period the Colony took form, socially, economically and politically. While Winthrop favored a narrow governing oligarchy, he had the political sense to yield when popular pressure made discretion obviously the better part of valor. Time made him an intense patriot but his country was the New England, not the Old; he would not tolerate the slightest interference with the charter nor would he take sides in the time of the Civil War. Until the end he believed that "he and his fellow magistrates were God's vicegerents divinely commissioned to maintain gospel ordinance in a new Colony." He was, as the old historian Hubbard wrote, "a worthy gentleman, who had done good in Israel, having spent not only his whole estate * * * but his bodily strength and life, in the service of the country; not sparing, but always as the burning torch, spending."

Of a far different sort was John Hull, the goldsmith. In his shops the profits of the Massachusetts trade with the West Indies and the Mediterranean were trans-

formed into beautiful articles of church and household silver, "distinguished for dignity and beauty of proportion rather than for richness of detail." John Hull was the Master of the Mint when the Colony attempted to remedy the chronic shortage of specie by coining its own. From 1652 until 1683, pine-tree shillings were struck in the Hull and Sanderson mint. Under their direction, moreover, a new generation of goldsmiths was trained, a generation whose work as a whole "shows an artistic and technical quality of which any town in the British Empire, short of London, might well have been proud." John Hull was a trader as well as a goldsmith. His ships followed the famous triangular route exchanging fish, salted meats, biscuits and butter for dyewood, indigo, sugar, cocoa and bullion in the West Indies, and thence to England for textiles and small wares. He raised horses for the West Indian trade and trafficked in furs between times. A man withal of public spirit, he left behind a reputation for a "sweet and affable disposition and even temper."

Professor Morison in his sketches touches the beginnings of Harvard in his portrait of Henry Dunster, its first president, and then shows that the Puritans were not devoid of a subtle, poetic sense, particularly as expressed in the writings of Anne Bradstreet. The other elements in the simple complexity of early Massachusetts are exemplified in the lives of Thomas Shepard, the divine; Nathaniel Ward, the lawmaker; Robert Child, rebel and remonstrant; John Winthrop Jr., the popular industrial pioneer, and John Eliot, the immortal apostle to the Indians. Throughout the author relates these men to their times, makes them relive not as austere, drab personalities but as human beings, with all the foibles of humanity, moving across a colorful scene. Early Massachusetts may have been rough and ready, even drear at times, but contemporary England was no butterflies' paradise. These builders were Englishmen (and that should never be forgotten) but Englishmen with a spirit of adventurous and courageous sincerity, with an

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Makers of Modern Europe

By FRANK MALOY ANDERSON

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

COUNT SFORZA has given us one of the most interesting and valuable books* of its kind that has appeared since the close of the World War. These qualities come from his experience and his character.



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Springing from a family which for over five hundred years has often had members who played important rôles in the history of Italy, Count Sforza as a young man entered the diplomatic service of his country. He rose rapidly and had the good fortune to be on the spot and often to play a part in some of the most important transac-

tions of the day. He was for several years secretary of the Italian Embassy at London while Italy, though continuing as a member of the Triple Alliance, was drawing close to the Triple Entente and laying the foundation for the course she pursued during the World War. In 1911 he was sent as Minister to Peking and there witnessed the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the early stages of the Chinese Republic. During much of the World War he was Minister to Serbia, serving both at Belgrade and at Corfu,

where the Serb Government took refuge after the Central Powers overran Serbia in 1915. At the end of the war he was for a short but highly important time Italian High Commissioner at Constantinople while the Turkish Empire was in a state of collapse. As Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs he cooperated at the Paris peace conference with Orlando and Sonnino but without fully approving the course they pursued. A short experience as Ambassador at Paris followed. In 1920 he became Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Giolitti Cabinet and held that post until the advent of the Mussolini régime in October, 1922. Refusing to lend his support or countenance to the Fascist system of government, though a Senator by earlier appointment, he has of late years lived away from Italy in semi-voluntary exile. In 1927 and 1928 he spent considerable time in the United States, appearing as a lecturer at the Institute of Politics at Williamstown. Such a career has naturally afforded him an opportunity for acquiring information and a point of view which can be matched by few other men of the day.

Throughout his career, whether for the moment acting as diplomatist, lecturer, or writer, Count Sforza has exhibited three traits of character not often combined. His point of view is that of the scholar. By temperament and training he has developed a degree of impartiality seldom found in men of affairs or even among scholars. Without divesting himself of his Italian character or patriotism he has acquired an international mind. All these qualities appear happily blended in his book.

The title, *Makers of Modern Europe*, describes the book in only approximate fashion. It is a series of short descriptive and critical estimates of forty leading personalities. All of them but Yuan Shikai and Sun Yat-sen are Europeans who have figured prominently in international affairs within the last thirty years. The list includes five Austro-Hungarians, Franz Josef, Rudolf, Franz Ferdinand, Aehrenthal and Tisza; eleven Italians, Cadorna, Diaz, Bissolati, Sonnino, Giolitti, Facta, d'Annunzio, Mussolini, and Popes Pius X, Benedict XV and Pius XI; four Frenchmen, Foch, Millerand, Poincaré, Briand, and the Empress Eugénie; five Britishers, Lloyd George, Balfour, Bonar Law, Curzon and Austen Chamberlain;

**Makers of Modern Europe*. By Count Carlo Sforza. Pp. 420. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1930. \$5.

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PICTORIAL SECTION



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CAROL II OF RUMANIA

Eldest son of the late King Ferdinand, who returned to Bucharest unexpectedly on June 6 after four and a half years in exile and assumed the throne, taking the crown from his son, King Mihai

THE DAWES PLAN ADMINISTRATOR



Harris & Ewing

S. PARKER GILBERT

The Agent General for Reparations, who completed his gigantic six-year task with the expiration of the Dawes plan and the inauguration of the Young plan and the World Bank. Mr. Gilbert's annual reports on Germany's economic position have had far-reaching influence both here and abroad

LEADER IN ANTI-NARCOTIC FIGHT



Underwood & Underwood

STEPHEN G. PORTER

Chairman of the House Foreign Relations Committee, who died on June 27. Mr. Porter was a militant crusader against the drug evil and attended the League opium conference in 1925 as an official delegate, the only American ever to participate officially in a League Assembly commission

PIONEER IN "PURE FOOD" CRUSADE



Harris & Ewing

DR. HARVEY W. WILEY

As Chief Chemist of the Department of Agriculture from 1883 to 1912, Dr. Wiley was primarily responsible for the pure food and drugs law passed in 1906 and for valuable research on the adulteration of foods. Dr. Wiley died on June 30 at the age of 85

APPOINTED ENVOY TO CANADA

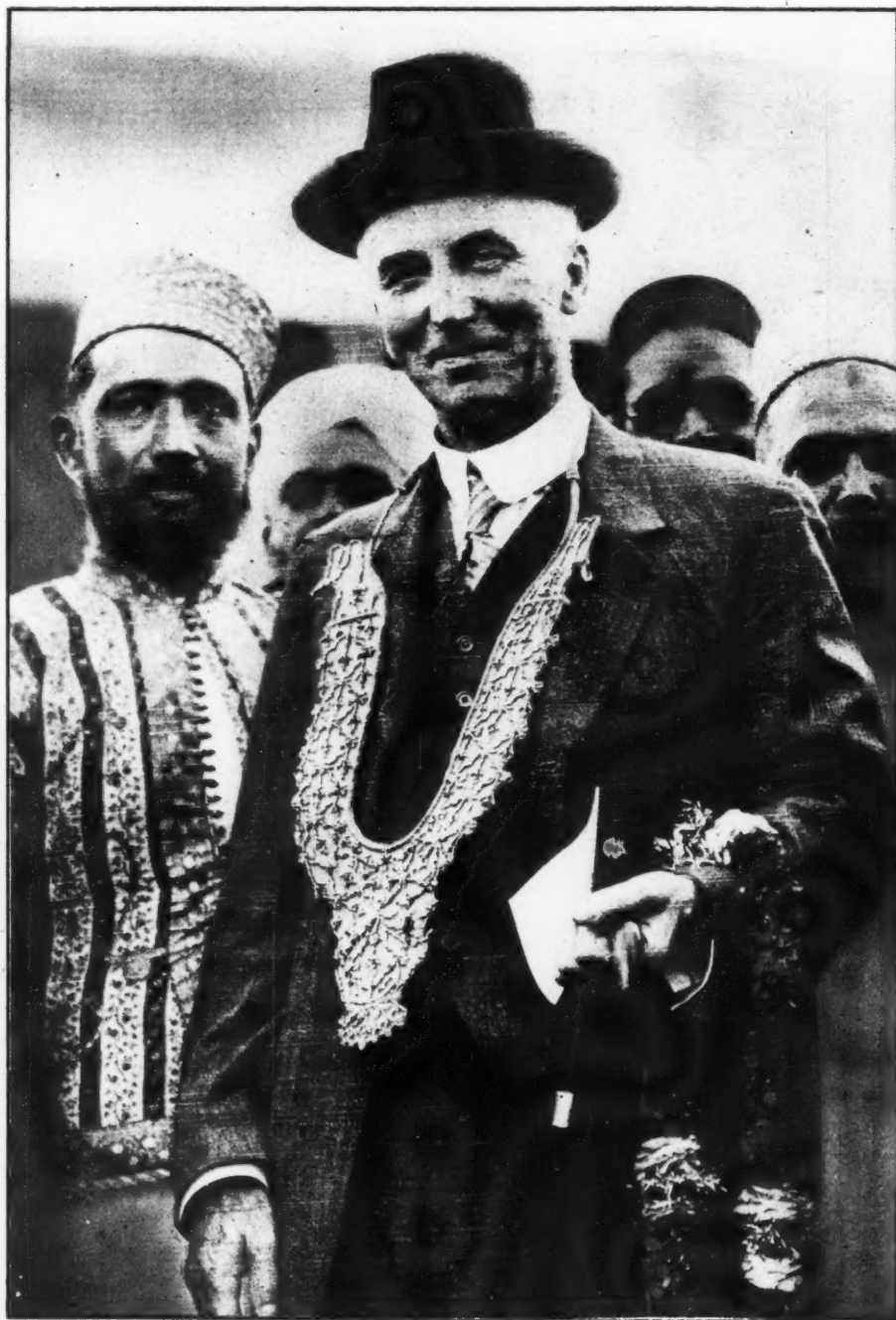


Underwood & Underwood

HANFORD MACNIDER

Chosen to succeed William Phillips as United States Minister to Canada. Colonel MacNider was Assistant Secretary of War under President Coolidge

THE SIMON REPORT ON INDIA



Courtesy British Library of Information

SIR JOHN SIMON,
Chairman of the commission which after three years of intensive study submitted two reports to the British Government last June, one a historic survey of India's problems, the other recommendations for administrative reforms. Sir John Simon is here shown at Delhi during his investigation

NEW GERMAN FINANCE MINISTER



Times Wide World

DR. HERMAN ROBERT DIETRICH

Leader of the Democratic party in the Reichstag, who was appointed Minister of Finance on June 28, after the resignation of Dr. Paul Moldenhauer. Dr. Dietrich undertook the difficult task of unraveling Germany's financial snarl, due to unemployment and a budget deficit

DIRECTOR OF NEW ENFORCEMENT BUREAU



AMOS W. W. WOODCOCK

Associated Press

Head of the Bureau of Prohibition, which was created by the transfer of enforcement from the Treasury to the Department of Justice on July 1

Current HISTORY

Roosevelt: The Story of An Animosity

His Hostility to Woodrow Wilson

By BAINBRIDGE COLBY*

WHY IS IT THAT almost every one who writes of Theodore Roosevelt seeks to put him in a Plutarchian setting with Woodrow Wilson, as if their lives were in any sense parallel, and as if the virtues and achievements of Roosevelt

could only be depicted in terms of disparagement, descending often to personal abuse, of Wilson?

Mr. Owen Wister proves to be no exception, and in his *Roosevelt: The Story of a Friendship*, the familiar but reckless invitation to the reader is repeated, to contrast these divergent and unrelated careers, as if the comparison could have but one result, and that, altogether soothing to the partialities of the Colonel's admirers.

After calling Wilson "an enigma as inscrutable as Louis Napoleon," he proceeds:

"Theodore Roosevelt offers us no riddle. The man is clear and accounted for. * * * Look at Roosevelt's face; it is all there, even that wistful conflict between his brain and his temperament over what he knew but did not wish to know. * * *

"Now look at the face of Woodrow Wilson. * * * Intellect is there, fathomless intensity, what we call vision, purpose, a noble and beautiful brow, a mouth inferior to all this, and a chin

*Bainbridge Colby was actively identified with the candidacy of Theodore Roosevelt for the Republican nomination for President in 1912. He was one of the founders of the Progressive party in the same year, and later was the Progressive candidate for the United States Senate from New York. In 1916 he made the speech placing Roosevelt in nomination for the Presidency at the last convention of the Progressive party in Chicago. Under the Wilson war administration Mr. Colby served as a member of the United States Shipping Board (1917-1919) and of the American Mission to the Interallied Conference in Paris in November, 1917. He was appointed Secretary of State by President Wilson on Feb. 25, 1920, and held that position until the end of the Wilson Administration on March 4, 1921. On Mr. Wilson's retirement, Mr. Colby became his law partner and continued in this relation until the year before Mr. Wilson's death.

The book referred to by Mr. Colby in this article was published in June, but was recently withdrawn from sale by the publishers, the Macmillan Company, for the purpose of making "certain corrections."

more obstinate than powerful. * * *

"In his life he created violent worship and violent hate, just as Roosevelt did; but Roosevelt seems to shine more brightly in our sky.

"Roosevelt, whatever his failings might have been, towered above Wilson, whatever his virtues might be."

Such and many more sweeping generalizations like them, with no attempt at supporting or explanatory specifications, the author drops right and left, to the grievous defacement of a story, singularly rich in material, and, for the most part, very entertainingly told.

Possibly Mr. Wister, accomplished literary artist that he is, has been betrayed into these excesses by the blindness of his devotion to the Colonel. He can rely on a measure of leniency, however, for probably no man ever lived who inspired devotion in a greater degree than Colonel Roosevelt. There was something irresistible in "the blaze of his genial, jocund power"; in the appealing attraction of his brave and rugged traits—manifested in every station he occupied, from his early youth until the end. It turned men's heads. It fired their hearts.

But blindness, even of devotion, sometimes plays one a bad turn. It is difficult otherwise to explain the inclusion in this "Tale of a Friendship" of many letters written by Colonel Roosevelt, which it would seem the part of friendship to have suppressed, in the hope that they might never see the light of day and be forever forgotten. Their dates serve readily to identify the outer conflicts and the internal stresses which at the time moved their writer to what, I regret to say, is a characteristic exaggeration and virulence of expression. For Roosevelt was an exponent not only of the strenuous life, but of the strenuous epithet as well. He plumed himself on never "hitting soft."

The Roosevelt renown, however, gains little from such eruptions, as the following, for illustration, taken at random from letters received by Mr. Wister and used by him to grace his

"page of old acquaintance," as he calls his book:

"I expect *The Evening Post* to play the cur's part, but I have been disappointed in *The New Republic*," writes Roosevelt.

"Think of the fact that respectable men are absolutely indifferent to Wilson's lying on every subject and contradicting himself on every issue! The worst feature of it is that the so-called intellectuals—such as President Eliot, the editors of *The New Republic*, *The Springfield Republican*, *The Atlantic Monthly* and *The Evening Post* are the men who have given Wilson his strength, and are largely responsible for those weaknesses in Hughes which make us support him, not as the proper President for this crisis, but as infinitely better than Wilson"—from another letter.

"*The Evening Post* crowd, the Carl Schurz and Charles Francis Adams crowd, are hypocritical and insincere when they oppose me."

"He [Wilson] has been able to do this because papers like *The Times* have shown such ambidextrous morality in cordially supporting him," &c.

"Nothing is more sickening than the continued praise of Wilson's English, of Wilson's style. He is a true logothete."

And on Feb. 5, 1916, Roosevelt, continuing in this vein, writes: "It is Wilson, not Bryan, who is the real enemy; the demagogue, adroit, tricky, false, without one spark of loftiness in him, without a touch of the heroic in his cold, selfish and timid soul."

It is difficult to be certain whether one should direct more than a passing glance at such outbursts. Perhaps we should dismiss them from our thoughts forthwith as being merely a sad display of the defects in a character which is redeemed by notable virtues and achievements. They remind one of the angry words Roosevelt applied to the ruling members of his own party, acting under the chairmanship of Elihu Root in 1912, when he characterized them in print as "crooks, burglars and second-story men." There

is nothing objective or rational in such speech. It is the outcry of a man torn by passion and borne he knows not whither.

The historian of the future, however, will be puzzled to account for it. The great stature of Wilson in history will be better understood by posterity than by his own generation, and the wonder will grow that a man of such breadth of intellectual horizon as Roosevelt could not, despite the strength of his animosity, have successfully fought off petty and vindictive promptings to which we expect only the meanest natures to succumb.

Can a reason be found for it? Where is an explanation to be sought?

Roosevelt once gave expression to the opinion that there were only certain periods in which it was worth a man's while to live; that the life of the human race was made up of stretches of eventless years, broken at long intervals by moments of intense and vital action, with results that were lasting and significant. In our history he held that there had been three such periods—the Revolutionary era, the years of the Civil War and, finally, the great World War. I think Roosevelt felt that fate had despitefully used him in postponing the German invasion of Belgium until after the expiration of his Presidential term.

I do not say this lightly. Roosevelt believed that he possessed a unique aptitude for the discharge of the duties of President of the United States. He is the only one of the Presidents within living memory who succeeded in extracting any enjoyment from the office. A "perfectly bully time," a "corking time," were phrases which he used to describe his incumbency. The collisions with Congress, the attacks by the press and the covert hostility of the poli-



Brown Brothers

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

From a painting by Philip de Laszlo which was presented to the British Government by the Roosevelt family

ticians, which weigh down the spirits of most Presidents, were to him calls to joyous battle. And after his active rôle in the Portsmouth peace negotiations, and the self-assurance he displayed in the famous Guildhall speech, in which he warned the British to their faces, "to govern Egypt or get out," one may well believe that he regarded the broader arena of world politics as presenting no mysteries nor holding any pitfalls for him.

Roosevelt served his country well as President, and I suppose it is natural and human for a man who has held great office, who has mastered its duties, and exercised its functions with success, to view a little wistfully, if not jealously, the passing of his power to a successor.

But Roosevelt went far beyond this pardonable little frailty. He was not

particularly enthusiastic about "successors." He did not, as a matter of fact, perceive their necessity. That he wanted to be President, and mightily strove to regain the office, is a conclusion which is hard to resist in the light of the facts. The labored effort of Mr. Wister to show the contrary does not stand up against the record which is written large.

In the early months of 1912 Roosevelt made a country-wide and highly successful campaign for delegates, elected or pledged to support him for the Presidential nomination in the Republican convention of that year. Had the convention been honestly organized, Roosevelt would have had a majority of the delegates and would have received the nomination. When the Old Guard of stand-pat and reactionary members of the Republican National Committee refused to seat legally

elected delegates and determined to preserve their hold on the party machinery, even if it involved a split party, a hopeless nomination and a defeated ticket, Roosevelt performed one of the most courageous and logical actions of his career. He bolted his party and accepted the nomination of the National Progressive party for President.

The four years of Democratic rule which followed, from 1912 to 1916, were marked by continuous criticism of Wilson on the part of Roosevelt, with a constant crescendo in acerbity and violence. The bulk of this criticism was rabidly partisan in tone, and such as marks, in politics, a frank quest for issues and the building of a candidate's position. It was the period in which many of the letters, which find publicity for the first time in Mr. Wister's book, were written.

And when 1916 rolls around, what do we find? Roosevelt, the nominee of the National Progressive party for President, and also among those placed in nomination for President by the Republican National Convention of that year, with active and earnest support in the convention and in the party press, and with no suggestion of dissent on his part.

It would be hard to find in any American career a period of four years more taken up with visions of the Presidency and efforts to attain it, than the years from 1912 to 1916 in the life of Theodore Roosevelt. Four times in as many years he was a candidate for the Presidential nomination in a national party convention, and twice the recipient of a formal nomination. He proposed to be President, if it were humanly possible. Of that there is little room for doubt, and his bitter sense of bafflement and frustration found vent in the railing diatribes which he directed at Woodrow Wilson.



WOODROW WILSON

From a painting by Stanley Middleton in the Princeton Library

There was another aspect of the situation. No one was more keenly aware than Roosevelt that the scale of a President's career and his place in history depend upon the nature of his opportunities and the occasions which events open up to him. He doubtless passed in mental review, in his reflective moments, the happenings and incidents which marked his Presidency, their prospect of remembrance, of enduring effect, and their place in time's long perspective.

Mr. Wister, in quite the spirit of such a survey, attempts an inventory of Roosevelt's achievements as President. "He had sent our battle fleet round the world," says he; "had brought peace between Russia and Japan; had put the Kaiser in his place regarding Venezuela; had settled the coal strike; saved the forests; developed irrigation in the West; laid the law's restraining hand upon corporations and unions, upon railroad rebates and free passes, and upon the sale of unsanitary food and drugs." But it is the suit to dissolve the Northern Securities Company, for which he reserves the position of primacy among these great deeds. "I place this act," says Mr. Wister, "at the top of all Roosevelt's great and courageous strokes in the domain of domestic statesmanship."

Creditable as all this was, and it is not a full or adequate summary, Roosevelt knew only too well that in any comparative rating, the enumerated achievements belonged in a secondary category.

To Roosevelt it could not but be apparent, on the other hand, that one of the greatest epochs in human history had come upon Woodrow Wilson. Civilization, falling under dreadful blows, had turned to him for rescue. Were he to rise to the full stature of the crisis and meet its supreme demands, he would leave a name that would challenge comparison with any in our history.

The recognition of this—to Roosevelt and the inner group of his idolaters—unpalatable fact, pervades Mr. Wister's book. It is manifest in the constant recurrence of the anti-Wilson

motif which punctuates his unceasing, and often labored effort to heighten and magnify the Roosevelt edifice. It is, as if an architect, discovering that his work is overshadowed by taller structures, should seek to preserve the effect of ascendancy by leveling the adjacent buildings.

"The figure of Woodrow Wilson seems to me," writes Mr. Wister, "the most tragic in our history, assuredly the fragment of a great man, whose deeds too often fell below the level of his words."

The chapter, of which this is the culminating sentence, marks a departure from the author's usual manner of naked assertion and unsupported generalization. In this instance, he makes some disclosure of the process—the chain of technique, by which he reaches his very depressing conclusion, stooping to particulars—not very convincing ones, to be sure, but nevertheless some, and seeks thus to give the impression of an open-minded commentator arriving with impartiality at considered judgments.

He manages to say that Wilson "braved unpopularity in the matter of the Panama Canal tolls, carried his point, and retrieved the honor of the United States in the sight of all nations. We had given our word and tried to dodge it. Woodrow Wilson forced the nation, much against its will, to be honest about the Panama Canal tolls, and wiped out that disgrace. He followed this by another excellent measure, long needed and highly useful ever since. He pushed through the Federal Reserve Bank. This had languished for twenty years in Republican hands."

And he breaks through a singular reticence as to Wilson's lustrous record as our War President, by observing that "it was most fortunate that Hughes was defeated as Republican candidate in 1916. No Republican, no one else except Woodrow Wilson, could have carried through his conscription bill in 1917. It was a splendid achievement and to this must be added his wise view and his wise act concerning another very important question. Wilson

vetoed the fanatical prohibition law."

These are not inconsiderable concessions for so biased a writer. Now, let us see what are the shortcomings or debit items charged against Mr. Wilson in this chapter of judicial summation, and made the basis of the finding that he was only "the fragment of a great man." Well, we are told:

1. That on a certain occasion he withdrew an acceptance of a Senator's invitation to dinner;

2. That he failed to appoint "a man of experience in mines" to investigate conditions in Mexico;

3. That he refused to change his views as to the woolen "Schedule K" of the administration tariff bill;

4. That he failed to open some of Ambassador Page's letters (there were a good many of them, it will be remembered, and President Wilson sometimes found himself quite preoccupied with the tasks and duties of a War President);

5. That some hitch arose somewhere about an appointment with Mr. Brand Whitlock (the facts are not given, but Mr. Wister assures his readers that he knows what they are);

6. That he did not make a visit to the devastated regions immediately on reaching France;

7. That he walked among the wounded soldiers at some meeting or reception in England "in silence and without a gesture" (a rather natural, not to say becoming deportment for a high-souled and sensitive person);

8. That he thought there was some question as to the guilt of Mooney, the alleged bomb thrower in California (a doubt which seems now to be shared by many who were prominently identified with the prosecution of Mooney. A recent press dispatch states that all living members of the jury, the judge who passed sentence and all but one of the prosecuting attorneys have joined in a plea for executive clemency);

9. That he failed "to keep a sane balance between capital and labor" (no specifications being given);

10. That his mind was too honest,

Balfour being quoted as saying during the progress of the peace negotiations at Versailles that "he is no match for some of the men he believes to be dealing with him in his own spirit."

Here we have, without a single omission, the complete roster of trivialities, upon which Mr. Wister rests the self-comforting observation as to the fragmentary character of Mr. Wilson's greatness; with which his chapter closes, and which we have quoted above.

But the sources of Roosevelt's devouring animosity toward Wilson must be sought at deeper levels than the reasons I have indicated, which had their contributory play, but do not wholly account for the phenomenon.

The truth of the matter is that Roosevelt suffered under an inferiority complex with regard to Wilson. The things which Roosevelt most truly aspired to do well, he succeeded, with great effort, in doing only indifferently. He wrote copiously, but what he wrote lacked distinction and anything approaching style, the beauty of which he felt but could not command. He had a certain vigor as a descriptive writer. Places which he had visited, or scenes which he had witnessed, are set forth in his books, with meticulous attention to detail; and incidents, in which he had figured, are narrated with much vim and gusto, but his style never strays from the objective and reportorial, and the prevailing mold of his sentence is the simple declarative.

Roosevelt spoke much, on every occasion, on all possible subjects and on every variety of platform, but he was not an orator. In extemporaneous address he was at a great disadvantage, and his important speeches, on their first delivery at least, were invariably read. No one could use a manuscript before an audience so deftly as he, but few speakers were more dependent on one.

Wilson, on the other hand, was a master of the spoken as well as the written word. The ease, the chasteness, the restrained power, the dignified beauty of his style give his writings a place with the classic models of our language; while his speeches, both impromptu and formal, with their grace-

ful clarity, their freedom from fustian, their unembellished directness, and their elevated appeal to the highest motives of action, were the best that have fallen on American ears for many a year.

Roosevelt thought of himself as "the scholar in politics." Wilson was more. He was the man of letters in public life.

But "the scholar," as exemplified by Roosevelt, was not a man of well-disciplined learning, of thorough attainments in any field, literary or scientific. He knew something, often a good deal, about a prodigious range of subjects, from a Dakota ranch to the headwaters of the Amazon and the African jungle, from the habits of tigers to the distinguishing notes in the song of a bird. He was a rapid and omnivorous reader, with a singularly retentive memory, and never completely at a disadvantage, no matter how unexpected or recondite a turn the conversation might take. But with all this, he was a dilettante, a very muscular dilettante, to be sure, if that adjective can be applied to energy of mind, but still an amateur who, despite a huge relish for learning, stopped far short of that intellectual command of a subject which marks the master.

Things that afforded him keen delight were a set-to in little undergraduate pedantries with book-cover intellectuals like Henry Cabot Lodge, or an exchange of letters, discussing in the best style of a culture club "paper" the relative position, among the world's great commanders, of Charles XII or the Prince of Condé.

In the presence of ripe and mature scholarship, or of action that was poised, reasoned, deliberate and conclusive, Roosevelt was apt to become petulant and irritable, and to fall back upon a defense mechanism of rough disre-



BAINBRIDGE COLBY

From a painting by Douglas Volk which hangs in the Department of State at Washington

spect and contemptuous affront. It was so he spoke of the late President Eliot of Harvard; and it was so he felt toward Woodrow Wilson, determined to belittle a moral and intellectual mastery of life, which he knew he had not attained.

But enough of this. It has been well said that a man, like a picture, should be judged by his merits and not by his defects, and to dwell on the virtues of Theodore Roosevelt is far more pleasant than to analyze his failings.

This, I think, is the way that Woodrow Wilson felt. The most savage onslaughts by the Colonel drew from him only a smile, and it will be remembered that in the electoral contest of 1916, when Roosevelt's violence knew no bounds, President Wilson never even mentioned his name in any of his speeches in that campaign, the nearest he came to doing so being an allusion to him on one occasion as "the vocal part of the Republican party."

Mahatma Gandhi and India's "Untouchables"

By KATHERINE MAYO

AUTHOR OF *Mother India*

In the midst of the "civil disobedience" campaign launched by Gandhi and the outbreaks of violence in many parts of India, the Simon Commission has published its recommendations for far-reaching changes in the whole system of Indian government. These proposals tend, it is said, to still more stringent British control and for that reason have met with opposition from all shades of Indian opinion. Miss Mayo's analysis of Gandhi's attitude toward the "Untouchables" may perhaps arouse a controversial storm comparable to that provoked by her book, *Mother India*. Miss Mayo's article is followed by a comprehensive summary of the Simon report.

AS WE READ each day's dispatches concerning the efforts for freedom in India, most of us, probably, sympathize with the "underdog." Such sympathy comes naturally to Americans. But in this case we face an obstacle. The actual underdog lies buried at a depth we can hardly plumb. He struggles at the bottom of the heap. Moreover, he sends us no dispatches, no poets, no advocates, no publicity agents.

In British India, every fourth person is a slave held in a type of bondage compared to which our worst Negro slavery was freedom. Dim ages ago, Brahman priests originated the system. Maintained and elaborated from that time until this present hour, it has become, as an eminent Indian Muslim describes it, "one of the most terrible engines of tyranny and oppression which human ingenuity and selfishness can invent." (Dr. Abdullah al-M'amun Suhrawardy. *Report of the Indian Central Committee*, Supplementary Note, 1930, p. 4).

By this device—"Untouchability," as it is called—over 60,000,000* British

Indian subjects are denied all social rights, including such elementals as access to the public water supply, for they are believed to convey pollution by touch, by approach, sometimes even by visibility; they are forbidden any calling save those deemed shameful, and are barred from the means or hope of making their children happier than themselves.

Yet, if such as this were all, an honest thinker might commit the case to natural adjustment and say: "So great a multitude, so goaded, must, sooner or later, stiffen its back and save itself. The law of biological evolution will work the surest cure." But the physical aspect of "Untouchability" is its more innocent part. Openly to condemn all men of a given blood to live out their lives, from birth to death, in filth, poverty and ignorance, is monstrous enough, but what shall be said of that subtler condemnation by whose spell the victim's own mind becomes his executioner?

"Untouchability," so the Hindu code teaches, is incurred by sin. For example, the man who kills a Brahman, after myriads of reincarnations upon earth in unclean insect form, will eventually be born an Untouchable. As Untouchable, through thousands of rebirths he must expiate in degradation, want and pain, the crime of which his mind re-

*The total number of the "Depressed Classes" is variously estimated. The figure here used is that found in the 1926-27 statement of the Director of Public Information, Government of India. See also *Report of the Indian Central Committee*, 1928-29, pp. 366-7.

tains no memory but the conclusive proof of which lies in his birth status.

When, then, the Hindu caste-man, in his walks abroad meeting an Untouchable, orders him off the King's highway, lest an unclean shadow defile the caste-man's sun; when he commands him to cover his mouth, though speaking from far off, lest unclean breath pollute the caste-man's air; when he forbids him religious teaching, lest unclean lips defile the word of the caste-man's gods, he arouses no resentment in his victim's mind.

Herein emerges the masterpiece of that mysterious "soul-force" of which we hear. Cunning and foresight, using "soul-force" alone, have accomplished what must have failed with might of arms. Implanting and maintaining a lethal idea in the minds of both exploited and exploiter, it has drugged the self-respect, atrophied the very manhood of its prey, producing thereby today 60,000,000 creatures in human shape, most of whom submit to regard themselves as no better than crawling worms—and all this for the sole comfort, profit and material services of upper classes who do not twice outnumber their serfs.

Gandhi has long denounced this system. "Untouchability," he writes, "is a snake with a thousand mouths through each of which it shows its poisonous fangs." (*Young India*, July 11, 1929). And again: "Hindus must hang down their heads in shame as long as the curse of Untouchability persists." (*Young India*, Aug. 29, 1929). To the present writer (March 17, 1926) he declared: "Untouchability is for me more insufferable than British rule," thereby recalling such of his earlier assertions as: "We shall be unfit to gain Swaraj [home-rule] as long as we would keep in bondage a fifth of the population of Hindustan;" also "it is a reform not to follow Swaraj but to precede it." (*Freedom's Battle*, Mahatma Gandhi. Ganesh, Madras, 1922, pp. 160 and 164.) Alluding to the Hindu intelligentsia's blanket formula, "Political power will cleanse us of all social sins; meantime why bother!" he has sharply

asked, as to the assumption that under Swaraj the Untouchables will be free from oppression, "Why can we not declare their freedom now? If we are powerless today shall we be less powerless under Swaraj?" (*Young India*, Jan. 14, 1926).

But Gandhi's vehement outcry over all the years has borne small fruit, amongst those reprov'd, other than mere words and barren gestures. It has created only surface ripples on the deep, still ocean of Hindu custom. When, however, turning from his Hindu audience, Gandhi has addressed the Untouchables themselves, his tone has changed. Now no longer the reformer, but the politician, he looks to the future, and invites no dangerous upheaval of the ground beneath his feet. Flowing somewhat over-easily, perhaps, from the assured material comfort and social prestige of his own ordinary life, Gandhi's counsel to the "less than dogs"—a counsel of quietism and submission—can have brought them little more than sheer despair.

"What though the toddy-palm invite you, flaunting its wanton plumes in your face"—so his scattered precepts may be summarized—"turn not for solace to its fermented juice. Neither eat rotten meat from abandoned carcasses, even if better food you have none. Continue quietly in that calling to which you and your fathers were born. The chief of these being scavenging, it is, of course, theoretically possible that you might, by adopting my own weapon of boycott, by flatly refusing to scavenge for the Hindu, bring the Hindu to terms.* But that means organized intelligent effort. I see amongst you, my Untouchable brothers, no leaders capable of directing such effort; your possibility of boy-

*I have seen a good-sized Hindu town sickening of its own accumulating filth because, by some local accident, Untouchables were lacking to remove it and no caste-man would stoop to the task. I have seen another Hindu town obliged to abandon its site and build again at a distance for the same reason. An Untouchables boycott might, therefore, be not without its terrors. (Author's note.)

cott, therefore, fails [cf. *Freedom's Battle*, Gandhi, p. 157]. More forceful methods I should disapprove if undertaken by you. And thus the conclusion emerges that, for any marked elevation of your lot, you may patiently toil on, resting in the hope that somehow, sometime, a spontaneous change of attitude toward you may develop in the Hindu mentality. Meantime, venerate the Hindu religion and help me and my Swarajists to rid India of the Satanic British Government."

Considerably earlier, however, than Gandhi's adoption of "Untouchability" as a talking point, two active influences, each of the steady, plodding and unvoiced type, had begun affecting the situation. The first of these was—and is—the reclamation work of the Chris-

tian missionaries. It is now some sixty years since that work began, and of the 5,000,000* present-day Indian Christians, the large majority are Untouchables in origin. Too much credit can scarcely be given to these simple and devoted workers of the Salvation Army, the mission of Dornakal and certain others who, regardless alike of personal advantage, of Hindu politics and of the pleasant favor of the intelligentsia, have plunged into mud waist deep and set their shoulders to the burden of the slaves. The material result, wherever these people have dug in, is cleanliness instead of squalor, health instead of rotteness, courage instead of cringing, a percentage of literacy high above that of the Hindu body, and, education once received, a frequent and most un-Hindu-like willingness to return to the village and live for the less fortunate of the same blood.

Now the fact may as well be faced that the decisive agent in effecting this metamorphosis, has been the militant teaching and the full acceptance of the doctrines of Jesus Christ. Our liberal tenet that it savors of impudence to urge upon alien non-Christian peoples our own religious views is, to the Untouchables at least, as useful as a chestnut roaster in hell. To quote the recent words of an eminent Indian Muslim, for the Untouchable millions "there is no * * * emancipation from the bondage and thralldom of the crushing yoke of birth and the inexorable law of Karma, so long as their belief in the Hindu religion remains unshaken."†

From this grim religious obsession of soul-slavery, only an antipodal creed, brought by men themselves white-hot with belief in the supreme efficacy of their own faith, could set the victim free. Such men, though few, have come. And while a more polite and conciliatory type of missionary, happy in trad-



Miss Mayo with a Christian minister, once an Untouchable, and five Untouchable children. This and the other photographs in this article were taken by Miss Newell, who accompanied Miss Mayo to India

*A debated and approximate number.

†Dr. Abdullah Suhrawardy, M. L. A. *Report of the Indian Central Committee*, Supplementary Note, 1930, p. 6. Islam knows nothing of caste and is welcoming an increasing number of Untouchables into the haven of her democracy.



A family of Untouchables at home

ing dogmas with high-caste intellectuals, has scarcely either a convert or a reason to show for his decades of comfortable keep, these robust, hidden, humble folk down below have done a job of humanizing work, have aroused a volume of outspoken gratitude and affection, have developed a propagandizing power, not without potentiality in future India.

The second influence that has worked while Gandhi has talked has been British justice. Bound by the old official pledge not to interfere in the religious beliefs of the Indian peoples, the Government of India has refrained from bringing force to the rescue, and it was not until 1919 that it actually gave to the "Depressed Classes," euphemistically so termed, some slight measure of representation in Indian legislative bodies. But wherever the equal rights of the Untouchable as a human being and a fellow subject have rested for recognition on the free act of either a British judge or a British official, those rights—so the Untouchable persistently declares—have been honored and defended.

Taking, then, the two influences together—that of certain uncompromising Christian missionaries, whose field of operations and influence has been much restricted by their own small numbers, and that of the British judge and administrator, whose field has been the whole of British India—the common denominator of their effects upon the Untouchable is a slowly increasing restlessness under the Hindu yoke, and an obstinate loyalty to the best, if not the only, friends that history has brought him.*

Now, whether personally or politically, neither one of these phenomena is

*It is not the intention of this article to overlook the various Hindu individuals and organizations that, of recent years, have concerned themselves with the evils of the Untouchability, even to the extent in some instances, of securing "temple entry." But whatever their proper ratings, the educated Untouchable may be forgiven his skepticism concerning these efforts. Born, he declares, of political expediency rather than of ethical conviction, they are spread as a snare in the victims' path. In a recent and terrible public arraignment of the Hindu record, the chief spokesman of the Untouchable has said: "It is the latest fashion of high caste men to speak of the removal of Untouchability, but * * * not one jot or tittle of practical work has so far been done."

acceptable to Gandhi. Therefore he meets them, when he must, in characteristic fashion; first, by telling himself and the outer world that they have never existed; secondly, by casting discredit upon specific instances of their existence. Take, for example, the Untouchables' repeated, passionate and spectacular mass outbreaks of devotion lavished upon the Prince of Wales on his visit to India in 1922—a welcome poured forth, as should be recalled, despite Gandhi's utmost and blood-stained efforts to prevent it, and duly chronicled in the press of the day. Five years later, being reminded of that demonstration, Gandhi quite humanly finds the memory not only personally unflattering but also politically an embarrassment; he therefore divests himself of the fact by the simple expedient of dubbing it fiction.*

Again, in 1928, upon the arrival in India of the Simon Commission and the appearance before it of the first of many Untouchable delegations to plead the Untouchables' case, Gandhi, seriously nettled, rushes to kill the messengers' credit: "Did not a so-called deputation on behalf of Untouchables welcome the commission as its true

deliverers?" he sneers. "I make bold to assert that they no more represented the Untouchables than would a party of Japs, for instance." (*Young India*, Feb. 9, 1928, p. 44.)

Yet only seven days later, we find the chief official spokesman of the whole Untouchable body declaring in his community's behalf, on the floor of the Legislative Assembly in Delhi:

We welcome this commission. We feel that there is a possibility of its proving a blessing to us. We feel that a mixed commission would have been suicidal from our point of view.† You [Hindus] will not face realities. You know full well that the depressed classes cannot accept the humiliating position they are in and yet you expect them to join you in boycotting the Simon Commission. * * * We form one-fifth of the humanity in this country. We may be depressed today. We may be denied education, we may be treated as slaves, but we are bound to be counted upon, and we shall say to the country and to the world that the race is not always to the swift nor the fight always to the most vociferous. We shall go before the Simon Commission to place our case frankly. * * * (*Legislative Assembly Debates*, Feb. 16, 1928, p. 431.)

But Gandhi, having long considered the Untouchables as his special pro-

**The Drain Inspector's Report. Young India*, Sept. 15, 1927.

†Referring to the Hindu politicians' objection to the all-British composition of the Simon Commission.



Untouchable children with their Christian Indian teacher

tegés, and their behavior as subject to his control, can hardly persuade himself that the position has changed. If the "less than dogs" dare now refuse to heel, surely there must be a reason other than that he, as their patron saint, has been weighed and found wanting. Casting about for relief, he presently finds it. "Look," he cries,

* * * at the shameless manner in which, for sustaining the spoliation of India, British statesmen (?) are setting one party against another. They have suddenly discovered the "Untouchables," for they seem to fear that the Hindu-Muslim dissensions alone might not prove security enough for retaining possession of the "most glorious diadem in the British crown." (*Young India*, March 1, 1928, p. 68.)

Yet in an Untouchables' declaration dating back to 1917 and covering decades then past—a declaration in part quoted and reaffirmed by the Untouchable member of the Indian Central Committee of 1929 (Report, p. 377), we find these words:

Our improvement in the social and economic scale began with and is due to the British Government. * * * We shall fight to the last drop of our blood any attempt to transfer the seat of authority in this country from British hands to the so-called high caste Hindus who have ill-treated us in the past and would do so again but for the protection of British laws. (Madras Adi Dravida Jana Sabha. Address presented to his Excellency the Viceroy and the Rt. Honble. Secretary of State for India.)

By 1930, however, even Gandhi could no longer remain blind to the incipient mutiny in the stoke-hold. The stoke-hold, to be sure, lies exceedingly far below water; the ringleaders are few, the mutineers little practiced in mutiny. Still their patron had best drop them a word: "Let the Untouchable brethren," he exhorts them, "not be lured from the common goal because it was the presence of Englishmen that stimulated Hindu thought and brought to the Untouchables a sense of their rights. *** As rulers they can do, have done, no good to any of us." (*Young India*, April 17, 1930.)

And then, with the assurance that



Head man of a village of Untouchables

hundreds of Hindu reformers greatly desire the removal of Untouchability, that much progress in that direction has already been made, that his last Congress actually appointed a committee to secure for Untouchables admission to Hindu temples, he ends by once more adjuring the accursed millions to leave their fate in Hindu hands, and if they will not join him in attacking the British, at least to refrain from action on their own behalf until the British have been driven from India.

But the alarm roused by the saint's fulminations of the previous year had already spread. "Mahatma Gandhi," one slave had cried to another, "was our lip-service friend. Now he would hold us down with one hand while with the other he raises our enemies, the Hindus, to drive out our real protec-

tors!" One Untouchable association gave forth this desolate wail:

Millions of rupees have been gathered in the name of National causes, but lavished on * * * the aggrandizement of the higher castes, on loud boastings of Hindu Spirituality before foreigners, or on Congress propaganda here and abroad; whilst millions of souls, made in the image of God, are perishing. * * * Sometimes our hearts cry out, Why have we been placed among Hindus?

Other Untouchable unions, more boldly assertive, "offered Satyagraha" before Hindu temples, day after day approaching the precincts, to be beaten back with sticks and stones, or barring the entry to the temple with their own bodies stretched upon the earth so that Hindus coming forth from worship must touch them and be defiled. And when one of these demonstrating masses was stayed in its course to be warned that Gandhi would probably condemn its aggressiveness, its spokesman is thus quoted: "We know Mr. Gandhi is against it. But we don't care. We will resume Satyagraha if Mr. Gandhi or God himself is against it."

This particular incident occurred in November, 1929. Five months later, when Gandhi had launched his present attack upon the government and started on his "march to the sea," Untouchable representatives convened at Poona issued a signed manifesto in part as follows:

In view of the fact that Mr. Gandhi, the Dictator of the Indian National Congress, has declared a civil disobedience movement before doing his utmost to secure * * * complete removal of Untouchability, it is decided to organize the Indian National Anti-Revolutionary party. * * * The party will regard British rule as absolutely necessary until complete removal of Untouchability and the overthrow of the school of chaturvarna (caste division). (Allahabad *Star*, April 14, 1930).

The first step of the new party was to dispatch a large deputation to Gandhi, over 200 miles away. Finding him already arrived at Dandi, on the seashore, surrounded by his followers, they stood up to him with a courage almost incredible; calling upon him to face about, to return to his colors as pledged, and to render honest and

whole-hearted support to their just cause. Further, they demanded that until that cause should have prevailed he forego his war on Britain. Gandhi refused their plea. They then very clearly informed him that he must reckon the Untouchables as against him; that they, in turn, would oppose any diminution of British control; and that they would unite in defying and obstructing his future illicit movements to the utmost of their power. After this, beaten and insulted by the Hindus round about, and with hearts dark with wrath and disillusionment, they started back on their weary way, to carry home their news. (See *Calcutta Statesman*, April 10, 1930; *London Daily Telegraph*, April 21, 1930; *New York Evening Post*, April 6, 1930).

During the same period, other associations of Untouchables, in places as far removed and apart as Lucknow, Amraoti and Lahore, issued similar rebukes and defiance to Gandhi, with appeals to Government not to weaken its own British element, thereby committing their fate to Hindu hands. These also it has suited Gandhi to discount or discredit. But of them Mohammed Ali, the Islamic leader, asked the Muslim associations convened in Bombay on April 23 last:

Can we forget that side by side with Mr. Gandhi's *Satyagraha* at Dandi is going on another *Satyagraha*, * * * for the removal of the abomination of Untouchability and unapproachability [from] a population bigger than that of any nation in Europe today? (*Bombay Times of India*, April 26, 1930).

Of the progress of this unequal struggle we are likely to hear little. The "less than dogs" have no press, no ambassadors, and for our drawing-room or platform entertainment their cause is too caked with dirt and sweat to support the necessary veneer of mystery or romance. The Untouchables today are only a vast, unorganized mass of slaves, tragically lacking a Moses to lead them. That, here and there, a group should rebel as they are now doing, is almost a miracle, in view of the mental narcotic with which they have so long been drugged.

The Simon Commission's Plan for India

THE SOLUTION of the problem of Indian self-government proposed by the Simon Commission was set forth in the second volume of its report published in London on June 24. The Royal Statutory Commission, consisting entirely of members of the two houses of Parliament and representing the three British parties, was appointed on Nov. 8, 1927, with Sir John Simon as chairman. It made two visits to India in 1928-29, heard evidence in the principal centres there and subsequently continued its sessions in London. The first volume of the report, published on June 10, contained an exhaustive survey of Indian conditions in their historical setting as a preliminary to the recommendations, unanimously agreed upon, in the second volume proposing a larger measure of self-government.

The present government of British India, as distinct from the native States, includes a central executive, namely, the Governor General in Council and a central Legislature composed of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. Subordinate to this government are nine provinces, each with its provincial council, the Northwest Frontier Province and minor administrations. The report of the commission—and nowhere does it mention “dominion status”—outlines a constitutional organization of this area on the basis of a federation of autonomous provinces. With the exception of Burma, which is to develop separately toward self-government, all the provinces are included in the proposed system.

Concerning the provinces various recommendations are made. “The boundary now set up between departments of which Indian Ministers may take charge and departments from

which they are excluded will be removed, and thus dyarchy will terminate.” The provincial Governor will choose the Cabinet, in whose hands the conduct of administration will rest, and will intervene in all cases of political breakdown or social disturbance. The provincial Legislatures elected by a widened electorate and from smaller constituencies, will have power to recast their representative systems to meet their own individual needs.

The present Legislative Assembly of the central government is to be replaced by a Federal Assembly made up of representatives from the eight provinces, the Northwest Frontier Province and other areas, and a group of official members including twelve nominated officials and the members of the Governor General's Council who sit in the lower house. The Council of State is to continue in its present form. While the existing legislative and financial powers of the two chambers will continue, the Federal Assembly also will vote certain indirect taxes which will be collected into a special fund for the benefit of the regions represented in the Assembly. The powers of the Governor General include the primary function of maintaining the defense of India. All the members of the Governor General's Council are to be appointed by him, and one of them is to be chosen to lead the Federal Assembly.

The publication of the proposals of Sir John Simon and his colleagues brought forth diverse press comment. *The Daily Herald*, organ of the British Labor party, said:

Premier MacDonald's remedy still, we feel sure, remains unchanged, since he wrote three years ago, “India must be in the empire on equal terms.” Along that courageous line, not among the hesita-

tions of the Simon report, the two countries will find a solution of the problems that face them. Its proposals, so far from preparing the way to rapid transformation, seem to us to tend rather to an indefinite stabilizing on the essential points of final authority and power in the present system.

The London Times says:

The conclusions do fit the facts with an unanswerable logic, and the result is a scheme of self-government fitted to the special conditions of the case and not limited except by safeguards against its own collapse, which makes the most helpful advance of our generation toward the solution of the problem of India.

The Indian press, on the other hand, universally rejected the Simon Commission's recommendations. *The Bombay Chronicle*, official organ of the home-rule advocates, describes the report as "an atrocious document," and *The Indian Daily Mail*, the mouthpiece of a section of Liberal opinion, calls the report "Simon's sorry folly."

Racial and political groups in India were universally disappointed in the report. The Sikhs were aroused over their allotment of only 2 per cent in the proposed Federal Assembly, and the Mohammedans were naturally hostile to any scheme which failed to give them complete control of the North West Frontier Province and at least a majority control in the Punjab and Bengal. Among political groups the Liberals were hit hardest by the annihilation of their dream of dominion status. It is of some significance, also, that no Indian native ruler or Indian Minister ranged himself on the side of the report. Meanwhile in England the leaders of the three parties agreed not to embarrass the government by asking for an early debate of the Simon report.

Yet the second volume of the Simon report is in no sense a defiance of the spirit of nationalism. On the contrary, the commission recognizes it as one of the strongest forces in modern India, but its report says, in effect, that complete realization of that nationalism is still a long way in the future. Also, the commission calls attention to the fact that this sense of nationalism would never have developed had it not been

for British rule, which the followers of Mahatma Gandhi now want to exterminate altogether:

The unity imposed upon India by the external forces of Great Britain is today reinforced by an increasing sense of Indian nationality. It has only been the existence of British rule in India that has rendered such a development possible. The movement has been growing steadily for the last fifty years, and with a greatly accelerated pace in the last decade.

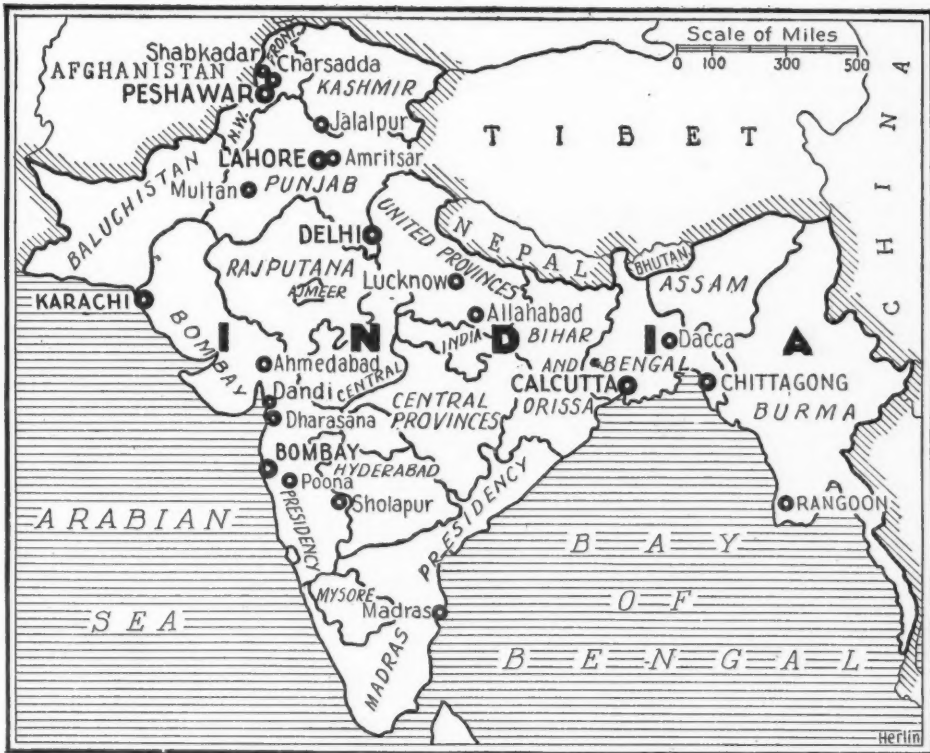
Whatever may be its shortcomings, and however unpleasant some of its manifestations, it appears to be the one force in Indian society today that may, perhaps, contain within itself the power to overcome the deep and dangerous cleavages that threaten its peace. Indian nationalism is a phenomenon which cannot be disregarded by the rulers, either of British India or of the Indian States.

In regard to the native States the commission cites the case of the Dominion of Canada, which, under its present constitution, included at first only the Eastern Provinces, but which was so organized that outlying regions could be taken into the federation as they became ready for it. In the opinion of the commission, a similar procedure would be feasible in India, and could be carried to the point of including all the independent States. On this point and the reasons for a federal system of government the report says:

While we hold that the ultimate development of the Indian polity must lie in the direction of a solution embracing all India, it is absolutely clear that the States cannot be compelled to come into any closer relationship with British India than exists at the present time. Indian rulers are naturally proud of their historic position and their rights have been repeatedly acknowledged. At the same time, we believe that they recognize more and more the need for adjusting their future relationship to the rest of India.

We believe they will only be ready to come into the larger whole when they can see that their rights and position will be safeguarded. The greater unity will come about when it is felt that it is to the mutual advantage of both sides to pursue it. We desire that the new Constitution should provide an open door whereby, when it seems good to them, the ruling princes may enter on just and reasonable terms.

If the principle laid down is valid, it inevitably follows that the ultimate constitution of India must be federal, for it



MAP OF INDIA

is only in a federal constitution that units differing so widely in constitution as the provinces and the States can be brought together while retaining internal autonomy. * * *

It might be possible to visualize the future of federation in India as the bringing into relationship of two separate federations, one composed of the elements which make up British India, the other of the Indian States. We do not wish in any way to be dogmatic on a matter which must be decided by those concerned. While we have given much attention to the subject, we have not received evidence from the rulers of the Indian States. We recognize that it is one of the matters which may be discussed when the proposed conference takes place.

We are inclined ourselves to think that the easier and more speedy approach to the desired end can be obtained by reorganizing the constitution of India on a federal basis in such a way that individual States or groups of States may have the opportunity of entering as soon as they wish to do so. It appears to us that the alternative method would reduce progress to the pace of the slowest.

Furthermore, we do not believe that in matters of federal concern the States will be always ranged on one side and British India on the other. On the contrary, there are matters in which the interests of particular States and provinces more clearly coincide. Whatever may be the ultimate decision, it seems to us that the reorganization of British India on a federal basis will prepare the way for it.

As to the units of federation in British India, the commissioners declare that they cannot regard the present provinces as in any way ideal areas for self-government. Although they are well aware of the difficulties encountered in all attempts to alter boundaries, and of the administrative and financial complications that arise, they make a definite recommendation for reviewing, and, if possible, resettling, the provincial boundaries of India at as early a date as possible. Meanwhile, the provinces of India exist and form the basis on which a federal structure

must be built. Besides the Governors' provinces, there are the areas to which the reforms have not yet been applied, and these will find their place in the federation. Continuing, the report says:

There is, however, one province, today an integral part of British India, which should, we think, be definitely excluded from the new polity, and that is Burma. As the Montagu-Chelmsford report pointed out, "Burma is not India." Its inclusion in India is a historical accident. We think that, when an endeavor is being made to lay down the broad lines of advance toward an ultimate goal, the opportunity should be taken to break a union which does not rest on common interests.

The scheme we recommend aims at giving the maximum of provincial autonomy consistent with the common interest of India as a whole. This means the abolition of dyarchy, for it was of the essence of this system that, while certain departments were transferred to the control of Ministers, the reserved side of the administration was still carried on under the superintendence, direction and control of the central government.

Devolution was, therefore, incomplete. It is our intention that in future each province should be as far as possible mistress in her own house. Thus independent life will be given to the provinces which will form the nucleus of the new federal structure.

It is proposed that in future the progress of these great areas should be entrusted to a unitary government responsible to Legislatures elected on an extended franchise. Within the general plan there will be scope for variation according to provincial needs and circumstances. The essence of the plan is to afford to Indians the opportunity of judging by experiment in the provincial sphere how far the British system of parliamentary government is fitted to their needs and to the natural genius of the people.

Instead of being chosen directly by the votes of the constituencies, they would be elected by the local Legislatures of the provinces they were to represent at Delhi, just as members of the United States Senate used to be chosen by the Legislatures of the several States.

Another analogy to the United States suggested by the report is in the recommendation that the new Constitution of India shall contain within itself provision for its own growth, change and

development, instead of having to be scrapped later on to make way for an entirely new experiment. On this point the Simon Commission takes an entirely different policy from that of the framers of the present act for the government of India, who provided that periodical surveys should be taken in anticipation of further experiments. The report continues:

The time limit of the present Constitution gave it the character of a makeshift affair, and the working of a Constitution under a time limit inevitably breeds certain evils.

As far as possible, therefore, the object now to be aimed at is a reformed Constitution which will not necessarily require revision at stipulated intervals, but which provides opportunities for natural development. One essential and inevitable defect of a limited and temporary scheme was that it should be almost completely rigid. The general effect has been to cramp and confine development and to restrict the range of experiment. The commissioners consider that this inelasticity has been a great disadvantage in so large a country as India, where province differs so much from province.

While we think it is possible in the provincial sphere to make very full provision in the Constitution for growth and development without the necessity of seeking new powers from the British Parliament, and while we desire to give scope for this same principle of growth at the Centre, there are circumstances in the latter case which limit the extent to which this can be done now.

The ultimate form of the central government depends on a number of factors which cannot be fully known at the present time. While it is possible to frame a Constitution now, the provisions of which will be in harmony with a future development, we do not think that within the compass of a single statute provision can be made for a continuous evolution of the main government of India by the method of internal adjustment and growth.

India, which presents so many complications on other grounds, is also unique in this, that a central government is being evolved at the same time as the provinces are growing to their full stature. Thus an attempt to devise now a detailed and final Constitution for the Centre would be to ignore the fact that its ultimate form must depend on the action of its constituent

parts. The commissioners say that they can but provide the conditions for its future realization.

The final principle which the commission lays down is the paramount necessity of securing that throughout the period during which India is progressing on the road to complete self-government there must be full provision made for the maintenance and efficiency of the fundamentals of government. It must be recognized that there are grave dangers in the situation of India that must be provided for.

The report says it is an absolute condition for the development of self-government in India that the gateway of the Northwest should be held, saying:

The army in India must be strong enough for its task. We hold that for many years the presence of British troops, and British officers serving in Indian regiments, will be essential.

While we are prepared to recommend a considerable advance toward self-government, and while we believe that a sense of responsibility can only be taught by making men responsible for the effects of their own actions, we desire to secure that experience is not bought too dearly. There must be in India a power which can step in and save the situation before it is too late.

There must be provided, as far as may be, safeguards to insure the maintenance of vital services. * * * The Governor General or the Governor, as the case may be, must be armed with full and ample powers. We desire to give the fullest scope for self-government, but, if there is a breakdown, then an alternative authority must operate unhampered.

The commissioners also state that until the spirit of tolerance is more widespread in India, and until there is evidence that minorities are prepared to trust to the sense of justice of the majority, they feel that there is need for safeguards for minorities. They consider that the only practical means of protecting the weaker or less numerous elements in the population is by the retention of an impartial power, residing in the Governor General and the Governors of provinces, to be exercised for this purpose.

The commissioners declare that their governing purpose is, as stated in the

introduction to their first volume, to apply to the reform of the Indian Constitution the principles of the declaration of Aug. 20, 1917, and to make provision for the steady growth of the element of responsibility in the government of India. The report says:

The authors of the joint Montagu-Chelmsford report, written twelve years ago, found that the possibility of rapid advance was greater in the provincial sphere than in the Centre, and this remains true. The reasons which constrained the authors of the report were not so much doubts as to the path to be followed or apprehensions of the dangers of the experiment, as a recognition of the facts inherent in the Indian situation. Twelve years is a very short time in the course of political evolution, especially when dealing with civilizations so ancient and conditions so diverse as India presents. But if the Indian Constitution is now re-established on right lines, and if it is realized that India is evolving into a federation of self-governing units, further approach to the ultimate goal may be achieved in due time without the necessity of constant and disturbing revision.

As an indispensable preliminary to a successful federation the commission stresses the fact that the several parts must be adjusted to participate in it. Hence a large part of the report deals with the present state of the provinces and recommendations for further political reforms within them:

The right method, we are convinced, is to construct a constitutional framework into which all the provinces can fit, but which will leave enough latitude for adjustment of the individual case, and which will enable the constitutional progress of provincial government to be secured by the healthy method of growth rather than by artificial statutory jumps.

The commission proposes that the rigid division into reserved and transferred subjects should disappear. It is admitted that much useful work has been done under the dyarchical system:

Dyarchy as a training ground has this to its credit, that it has brought home to some who had no previous experience of the task of government the difficulties of administration and the meaning of responsibility. But it seems to us clear that a system which was designed to develop a sense of responsibility has sometimes tended to encourage a wholly dif-

ferent attitude. As long as dyarchy continues, it is inevitable that the elected members of the Legislature should tend to show an exaggerated hostility to the work of the reserved half of the government, which they may criticize but cannot control.

If money is wanted for "nation-building" services, the temptation to blame reserved departments for spending too much is far more attractive than the alternative course of imposing new taxes.

Relations between Executive Councilors and Ministers are intimate and friendly. But rigid dyarchy is a standing challenge which either ranges Ministers against the reserved half of government or exposes them to the charge of being the subservient tools of the bureaucracy. And all the time the growth of real responsibility (which was the object of the adoption of the system) is being hindered.

It is proposed, therefore, that the boundary now set up between departments of which Indian Ministers may take charge and departments from which they are excluded should be removed. Thus dyarchy will terminate. The sum total of reserved and transferred subjects will constitute the range of provincial administration. The provincial Cabinet should be unitary, i. e., every member of it should be required and prepared to take responsibility for the whole policy of provincial government.

Two changes are suggested by the commission in order to assist Ministers in maintaining their position of joint responsibility and in preserving a united front:

First, it should be provided in the Constitution that Ministerial salaries are not liable to be reduced or denied by a vote in supply; the existing scale of salaries should be alterable only by a provincial statute regularly passed through all its stages.

Secondly, it should be constitutionally established that the only vote of censure which could be proposed would be one against the Ministry as a whole, carried after due notice; the practice that has grown up in some provinces of claiming to censure one Minister without thereby involving his colleagues is destructive of the principle of joint responsibility. It may be worth considering whether, without unduly increasing the sum total of Ministerial salaries, the appointment of certain minor Ministers, or Under-Secretaries in the British sense, will not be desirable.

The commission thinks the Governor should, on the administrative side, be

given statutory power to direct that action should be taken otherwise than in accordance with the advice of his Ministry (though subject always to the superintendence, direction and control of the Governor General) only for certain purposes. Two of these are fundamental to the preservation of the peace and good government of the province: (1) In order to preserve the safety and tranquillity of the province; (2) in order to prevent serious prejudice to one or more sections of the community as compared with other sections. There are three other purposes for which it is proposed the Governor should possess overriding powers: (3) To secure the due fulfillment of any liability of government in respect of items of expenditure not subject to the vote of the Legislature; (4) to secure the carrying out of any order received by the Provincial Government from the Government of India or the Secretary of State; (5) to carry out any duties which may be statutorily imposed on the Governor personally, such as duties in connection with some service questions and responsibility for backward tracts.

On the highly controversial subject of communal representation the report says:

On the one hand, communal representation is an undoubted obstacle in the way of the growth of a sense of common citizenship. On the other hand, we are now faced, as the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford report were faced, by the indisputable fact that the Mohammedan community as a whole is not prepared to give up communal representation and would regard its abolition, without the assent of that community, not only as the withdrawal of a security which it prizes but as the canceling of assurances upon which it has relied. Whatever view may be taken of the Mohammedan objection, the fact itself cannot be disputed, and it is one of the greatest possible gravity for all who are engaged in considering the constitutional future of British India.

In the Punjab the commission proposes to preserve the separate electorates for Sikhs and special provision is recommended for giving the depressed classes (the "Untouchables")

representation in the Legislature. Suggestions are put forward regarding the representation of other special classes and interests—Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, universities, commerce and planting, and labor. European representation, the report says, must continue to be secured by means of separate electorates.

Although it is possible for women to be members of the councils, and several women have, in fact, been made members by nomination, no woman candidate, so far as the commission knows, has ever been elected. The report discusses various methods of facilitating the inclusion of women in the provincial councils. The commissioners are opposed to the method of stipulating by statute or statutory rule that a certain number of seats in each council must be held by women.

At present the provincial Legislatures have practically no power to amend their own Constitution and the commissioners think it is highly desirable to increase their functions under proper safeguards, so that they may become, within a certain range, bodies which can modify their exact structure.

About 2.8 per cent of the population of the areas returning members to the provincial councils were registered as voters at the last general election. The present franchise, in the view of the commission, is too limited in its scope to provide the material from which to build any adequate scheme of representative government. Its only justification is that it was a beginning and that, in spite of the mandate that a "broad" franchise should be aimed at, illiteracy and the restricted supply of competent persons to conduct the elections compelled the adoption of limits producing this result. The commission holds that there should now be such extension of the franchise as is reasonably practicable, and that provision should be made with a view to yet greater extension after a further interval.

The importance of lowering the property qualification, if justice is to be done as between different classes and

creeds, is stressed by the report. Mention is made of the disadvantageous position under the present system of Mohammedans and the depressed classes because of their poverty, and it is pointed out that with a lowering of the franchise these classes will not only secure more votes in the aggregate, but their voting ratio will more nearly approximate to their population ratio. The commissioners also desire to see a substantial increase in the present ratio of women to men voters.

Under the terms of the Simon report, even the Northwest Frontier Province would have for the first time in its history under British rule a considerable measure of local self-government by a council of forty members with "powers of legislation, interpellation and discussion of resolutions and with authority for imposing certain taxes" for local expenditures. But because of the constant menace of tribal invasions and uprisings in these regions, the five districts included within the Northwest Frontier Province are not scheduled for the full measure of autonomy recommended for the Governors' provinces.

The problem of the central government at Delhi is dealt with as follows: It is proposed that, in place of the present Legislative Assembly, there should be constituted a new body, which the commission would call the "Federal Assembly," the members of which would not be directly elected by constituencies of voters, but would be mainly chosen by the provincial councils themselves. The parts of British India which cannot be included within the areas covered by the provincial councils would also be represented in the Federal Assembly. A provincial council would select those whom the province sends to the Federal Assembly by the method of proportional representation—a mode of voting which is quite familiar to Indian legislators, and which is employed with success and general satisfaction in choosing committees from among their number.

The provincial councils, however, would not be limited in their choice of representatives to serve at the Centre

to members of their own body, though such members would be eligible. Any one, man or woman, who was on the electoral roll for the province, might stand for election as a member of the Federal Assembly representing that province. The allowances provided for members of the Federal Assembly representing provinces would be charged on provincial funds, and would be non-votable.

The Federal Assembly would have a fixed life of five years. This corresponds to the maximum length of life proposed for the provincial councils. It is recommended that the number of members should be between 250 and 280, which represents a considerable advance over the present membership of 145. The commission's figure will give approximately one member per million inhabitants. The commission recommends the adoption of a population basis for fixing the number of seats to be allotted to each province, and suggests that the allocation of one seat per million inhabitants will provide a convenient general principle, though necessarily it cannot be applied with absolute rigidity, especially in the case of the smaller units. In addition to the members representing the Governors' provinces, the minor provinces and the excluded areas, there will be an official element. Members of the Governor General's Council will be ex-officio members, and the Governor General should have power to nominate not more than twelve other officials in order that the point of view and experience of the administration may be adequately represented.

There are weighty reasons, according to the commission, for retaining the Council of State as an integral part of the central government, and it is therefore proposed that the council should continue with its existing functions as a body of elected and nominated members chosen in the same proportions as at present:

It contains members of experience and distinction who have made valuable contributions to the discussion of public affairs. The Council of State has been a steadying influence during a difficult

transitional period. We are also impressed by the fact that no demand for its abolition has been brought to our notice. In the stage upon which India is now entering she will need all her resources of statesmanship and experience. There is much to be said against abolishing on purely theoretical grounds a piece of constitutional machinery which has worked well at a time when great changes are being introduced, the effect of which cannot at present be estimated.

The existing legislative and financial powers of the two chambers of the central Legislature will remain as at present, but additional functions will be performed by the Federal Assembly in the sphere of finance. The report includes an elaborate scheme for increasing the financial resources of the provinces by the constitution of a provincial fund, which will be fed by the product of taxes, voted by a Federal Assembly representing provincial units, but collected centrally. The report says:

Consequently, we propose that in the financial sphere the Federal Assembly should perform a dual function. It should be not only the representative body for the purpose of imposing taxation for the needs of the central government, of voting estimates and of controlling expenditure at the Centre, but also a federal instrument for raising the necessary additional funds for the provincial governments. One of the reasons which have led us to reconstruct the central Legislature on a basis of representation of federal units is that a body so formed will be suitably composed for performing this function. The Council of State will, as hitherto, be restricted in regard to finance to passing or rejecting money bills relating to central revenues and will have no concern with the provincial fund bill.

The power of initiating measures of taxation for central purposes will, as heretofore, be vested exclusively in the executive, but all such measures must be passed by the Federal Assembly and also by the Council of State. Both bodies have full power to amend or to reject any such measure, but the present provision would continue that where the Governor General considers that its passing is essential for the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India or any part thereof, he may

certify the measure, which thereupon has all the force of law.

Discussing the form which the central government should take at the next stage of India's evolution, the commission says it must be a government which can give support to the provinces in case of need, and it must be a government able to bear the vast responsibilities which are cast upon it as the central executive organ of a sub-continent presenting the complicated and diverse features of India. As the report puts it, "unity in the central executive must be preserved at all costs."

A second conclusion on the subject of the central executive which can be asserted with confidence is that the Governor General must continue to be not only the representative of the King-Emperor in all formal and ceremonial matters, but the actual and active head of the government. One change which the commission thinks should now be made is to place upon the Governor General himself the responsibility of selecting and appointing the members of his Cabinet. At present members of the Governor General's executive council are appointed under the advice of the Secretary of State for India. The report continues:

It does not seem to us possible to take the view that Parliament can now surrender all responsibility for future modifications in the structure of the central government of India. To suggest that it could do so would be to deny the terms of the preamble to the government of India act, and to forget the conditions included in Mr. Montagu's declaration of Aug. 20, 1917. But this recognition of continued parliamentary responsibility is a very different thing from insisting that no modification is possible in the future without the cumbrous procedure on each occasion of passing a new statute through the British Parliament. We desire to reduce the rigidity of the statutory structure because we are convinced that Indian institutions ought to be given room to grow and develop. While, therefore, it is impossible in our judgment to provide at this stage as much latitude for change in the central sphere as in the provincial Constitution, we propose by the means we have described to provide in the central sphere also opportunities for adjustment, while preserving to Parliament the responsibility, which it can-

not at present abandon, for future decisions.

The commission believes that the Commander-in-Chief should not be a member of the executive council and should not sit in the Legislature. At present he is in practice a member of the Governor General's Council and, therefore, a member of one or the other chamber of the Indian Legislature. Questions of defense, so far as they come before the Indian Legislature, should be dealt with by a civilian. The commission thinks it very desirable that there should be included in the Governor General's Council a member, not overburdened with departmental work, whose primary function should be to "lead the House."

The commissioners say that in their judgment the Governor General's Executive Council in the next stage of India's constitutional development can not be "responsible" to the Indian Legislature in the same sense as a British Cabinet is "responsible" to the British Parliament, though the influence of the Indian Legislature upon the Executive, which is already considerable, will undoubtedly grow. The report says:

It has struck us as remarkable that it should be so commonly assumed in India that the development of responsible government must take place on purely British lines. * * * Our own view is that, until the provinces of India have established themselves, by the working of unitary governments, as self-governing units, the ultimate form which the central government of India will take cannot be finally determined. The question whether Indian States will contribute to the ultimate process has yet to be answered. Federal executives do not assume a definite or final shape until the units of federation come naturally together. The utmost, therefore, that can be done now is to reduce, by such methods as we have outlined, the rigidity of the structure of the Central Executive, to make the best possible provision for the introduction of authoritative Indians into the Executive, and to recognize that the British system is not the only model and, indeed, that there are many federal systems in the world which differ from the British model because they have been suitably developed according to the needs of their own areas and populations. It would, we are convinced, be a grave mis-

take to attempt to reconstruct the central government of India on the lines we have suggested for the provinces. At any rate, it would be premature to do so now. The ultimate form which the government of India will take cannot possibly be precisely determined in present circumstances. It must be allowed to grow in the light of the principles we have set forth.

Apart from the control exercised over Governors by the Governor General, the commissioners recommend that the superintendence, direction and control of the Governor General in council over a provincial government should be exercisable only over a field defined by the following categories:

1. Safeguarding of administration of central subjects.
2. Matters which may, in the opinion of the Governor General, essentially affect the interests of any other part of India.
3. Supply of information on any subject.
4. Raising of loans.
5. Employment of All-India Services in the province.
6. Safeguarding of imperial interests.
7. Questions arising between India and other parts of the empire.
8. Implementing international obligations.

The Secretary of State, in the exercise of his general powers of superintendence, direction and control of the Governor General in council, would, of course, be enabled to issue orders through that authority on provincial questions falling within the field indicated above. Reference is made to the desirability of cooperation between the Centre and the provinces and between province and province in "nation-building" services—agriculture, education and medical services.

The report contains a chapter in which the commissioners direct attention to the danger of undermining the authority of all government and the loss of public confidence which would follow if no effective steps are taken to make more widely known the explanation of official policy and to counteract the gross misrepresentation of government action put forward with impunity by those who seek by every means to discredit it. The point which the commission makes is that the gov-

ernment case should not go by default, and that citizens should not be led to believe that the authorities have no answer to criticisms because as a rule they make none which reaches their ears. The commission says its concern is not solely with the position of the powers that be, but with the consequences upon the peaceful administration of India in the future. It expresses the strong conviction that unless a corrective is forthcoming the orderly development of Indian institutions is put in jeopardy. The question should be carefully considered by what means the widest publicity can be obtained for a reasonable account of the activities and decisions of the various governments of India and how best this information can be brought before a larger part of the Indian population. Mention is made of wireless broadcasting and of the cinema.

The constitutional problem in relation to the defense of India is fully discussed. The commissioners say that the evidence they have heard and what they have seen in the course of their Indian tours leave no doubt in their minds that at least for a very long time to come it will be impossible for the army entrusted with the task of defending India to dispense with a very considerable British element, including in that term British troops of all arms, a considerable portion of the regimental officers of the Indian Army, and the British personnel in the higher commands. Steady progress should continue to be made in the direction of an ultimate policy which contemplates the building up of an entirely Indian force. But the issues involved are too vital, and the practical difficulties too great, to justify a precipitate embarkation on a wholesale process of substituting Indian for British personnel in the Indian Army.

The army in India is the only effective barrier between India and the dangers without her gates. The land frontier of India exposes her in the north-west to a constant and pressing danger of a magnitude which is quite without parallel in any other part of the em-

pire. The commissioners regard it as beyond question that, having regard to the Indian and imperial interests involved, to the dangers to be faced, and to the composition of the force, Parliament cannot wash its hands of all responsibility for this army. Nor do they see how, in that event, British officers and men could be recruited and called on to serve in India.

If the responsibility for the army in India is to rest with the Imperial Government, that government would continue to be represented in India by the Governor General, and the day-by-day administration of the army would be, as now, in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief. The Central Legislature, as now, would not vote supply for the army; appropriations of revenue for this purpose would be authorized by certificate of the Governor General.

The commission considers that the obligation to go forward steadfastly and sympathetically with the Indianization of the army should continue to be honored in the letter and the spirit if the army in India were to pass, as the commission suggests, out of the control of the Government of India. The commissioners appreciate the fact that, in the end, a self-governing India can only hope to function with reasonable prospect of success if it can command military forces of its own.

The commission advises that the announcement should be promptly and publicly made that the separation of Burma from British India has been decided upon and that consideration will at once be given to the question of the new constitution of Burma, and to the adjustment of the many complicated and important matters which must arise during the period of transition.

Part 11 of the report, discussing the relations between the Home and the Indian Governments, points out that the proposals made by the commission for the extension of the field within which responsibility for the government of British India rests upon elected Indian Legislatures involve a correspond-

ing restriction of the control of Parliament. As regards the India Office, the Governor General in Council will remain in constitutional theory under the superintendence, direction and control of the Secretary of State, and the extent to which this control is relaxed or falls into desuetude will depend upon future practice, and cannot be laid down in the statute. Apart from his authority over the Governor-General in Council, the Secretary of State will exercise no control over provincial governments, save in so far as he does so in connection with the use of special powers vested in the Governor.

The functions and composition of the Council of India in London are modified by the report. It is proposed to reduce its size and to provide that the majority of its members should have the qualification of more recent Indian experience than is required at present. The functions contemplated for the Council would be essentially advisory, but independent powers would continue for the control of service conditions, and the control of non-votable Indian expenditure.

The report concludes as follows:

In writing this report we have made no allusion to the events of the last few months in India. In fact, the whole of our principal recommendations were arrived at and unanimously agreed upon before these events occurred. We have not altered a line of our report on that account, for it is necessary to look beyond particular incidents and to take a longer view.

Our object throughout has been to bring to the notice of the British Parliament and the British people such information as we are able to supply about the general conditions of the problem which now awaits solution, together with our considered proposals. We hope, at the same time, that our Indian fellow-subjects, after doing us the courtesy of studying the report as a whole (for isolated sentences may give to any reader a wrong impression) will find that what we have put forward has been written in a spirit of genuine sympathy.

We have grown to understand something of the ideals which are inspiring the Indian national movement, and no man who has taken part in working the representative institutions of Britain can fail to sympathize with the desire of others to secure for their own land a similar development.

The Challenge of the New American Literature

By V. F. CALVERTON

EDITOR, *The Modern Quarterly*; AUTHOR OF *The Newer Spirit*

THE DEVELOPMENT of American literature in the twentieth century, and in particular in the last two decades, is historically important because it marks off the period when our poets, novelists and critics finally outgrew the English heritage. Since 1914 we have created an American literature. This literature is indigenous not only in its materials but also in its problems. The American authors who have grown up with it, as part of it, are American in inspiration as well as birth.

When we remember that American literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was mainly derivative of the English tradition, we can realize how significant is this change. In fact, it was the habit all through the nineteenth century in American magazines and books to speak of American authors in terms of their English prototypes. A novelist would often be called an American Dickens or an American Trollope, a poet an American Mrs. Hemans or an American Swinburne. A more interesting illustration of the influence of the English tradition is to be found in those works of American authors which dealt entirely with the American milieu and yet reflected nothing but English attitudes and interpretations. Cooper's Natty Bumppo and Longfellow's Hiawatha and Minnehaha, for instance, are all Anglicized Indians. The same tendency to Anglicize everything prevailed on the stage as well as in poetry and fiction. Indeed, it can be said without exaggeration that with but few exceptions American literature, before the twentieth century, never went beyond—nor even very much desired to go beyond—its English origins.

The only vital aspect of American literature in the nineteenth century that did not follow the English example was that which sprang up out of the inspiration of the frontier, and found its embodiment in the works of Walt Whitman and Mark Twain. The frontier was certainly peculiar to America. The only other countries in which a frontier situation existed, and to an extent still exists, are South Africa and Canada, but in neither of these countries were the factors contributive to literary influence active enough to force their way into the current of their literatures—at least not to the extent to which they are to be discovered in American literature. Thus, the frontier provided our writers with material for a literature that was freed of its attachments to English or any other European tradition. Life there was new in the newest sense of the word. Yet the very "Americanness" of Whitman and Mark Twain kept them from being recognized by the literati until the twentieth century, when a genuinely American literature was already in embryo. Mark Twain won the populace to his side long before the critics. Whitman, whose *Leaves of Grass* was published in 1856, did not become a force in American poetry until the end of the first decade of this century.

These writers in their works, the one in poetry and the other in prose, represented individualism in certain of its most extreme forms. The democratic spirit, with its individualistic emphasis, was to be seen in their revolt against the traditions that the literature of New England and the mid-Atlantic States had fostered as part of their English tradition. In *Leaves of Grass* Whitman gave voice to his revolt

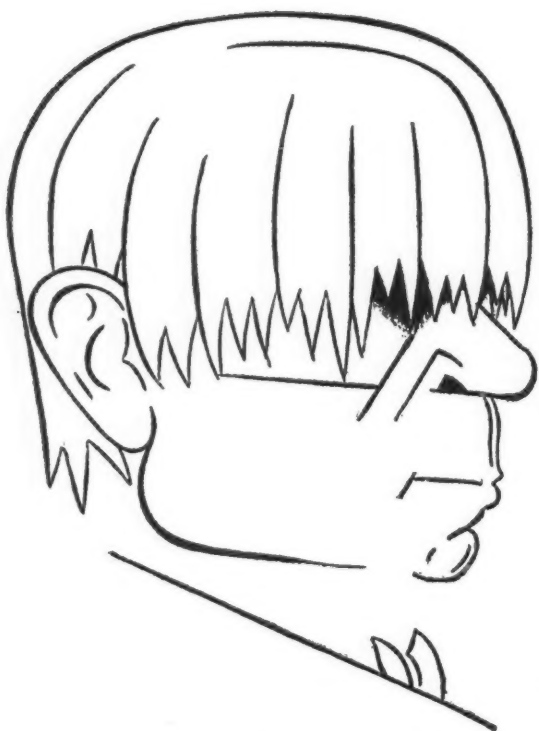
against the prevailing poetic forms, and Mark Twain in *Innocents Abroad* and many of his other books revealed his contempt for the artistic conventions and traditions of his American and European contemporaries. It is, therefore, of no little importance to note that neither Whitman nor Mark Twain became figures of prominence in American literature until the twentieth century. It was then that American literature was first coming into its own as a literature in its own right, a literature springing out of its own soil, developing its own problems, and facing its own soul as something to be explored in terms of its environment.

What historic forces were at work in effecting this change? It is necessary for us to consider this question first if we are to understand the sudden advance of American literature during the past twenty years. The distinctly American aspect of American literature dates back to the beginning of this century. It was just at that time, at the close of the Spanish American War, that America arose to the position of a world power among the nations of our time. In the nineteenth century America had been a second-rate power. It was its victory over Spain, with its consequent acquisition of foreign colonies, that established its new rank in the modern world. Before this time America had never questioned British hegemony in the international scheme of control. Our earlier conflicts with England had always been the struggles of a small power against a greater. As a result America in the nineteenth century never ceased to look up to England as a guiding force in world affairs. Our intellectuals in particular had every reason to esteem English influence. England was the leading country of the time. The similarity of language bound the intellectual life of both countries closer to each other. English literature had a standing of its own not only because of its excellence, but also because of its old tradition as the literature of the leading country in the Western Hemisphere.

It is not surprising, therefore, that

the highest honor an American author could seek was to be approved of in England. Just as Downing Street tended to dictate the state of American finance, London magazines and journals tended to dictate the critical tastes and convictions of the day. An American author who was recognized in England became an international figure. He gained not only in prestige, but also materially. In every way he benefited. To be sure, part of this influence was purely psychological. Nevertheless, its sway was not to be denied. Only those writers who wrote for a different audience, those American pioneers such as Whitman and Mark Twain, who had imbibed the spirit of the frontier and were scornful of the values of urban civilization, as a whole, could afford to renounce this influence.

As soon as America rose into a world power, however, this influence began to decrease. Before that time American literature had no standing of its own because America as a country had no sufficient standing of its own among the nations of the Western World. It was a growing country, it is true, but it was not yet grown. Once it became a power of first rank this condition was changed. The whole psychology of the nation also changed. Gradually American authors came to realize that American literature could stand by itself (on its own legs, as it were), and success, literary as well as monetary, came to be thought of in connection with America alone. It was at this time that Whitman and Mark Twain came into their own and received the recognition from artists and critics that they deserved. This change, nevertheless, might never have achieved the wonderfully stirring effects that it did if the World War had not ended with America instead of Great Britain as the leading world power. At last English influence was definitely ended. From that time on American literature, alive with new energy, released from an old repression, confident of its own talent, and seeking no other approval than its own, was able to carve out its new destiny.



From *On Parade*, by Eva Herrmann, Coward-McCann, 1929

CARL SANDBURG

What really has been the nature of this new destiny? Who are its representatives? In poetry we have the literary sansculottes, the advocates of free verse in its numerous phases, who represent this new destiny in its most interesting form. Poets such as Amy Lowell, Robert Frost, Carl Sandburg, Vachel Lindsay, Robinson Jeffers and Edgar Lee Masters are typical of this group. Almost all the earlier leaders were indirectly if not directly influenced by the poetry of Whitman. No one would ever speak of these poets in terms of English prototypes. They are unequivocally American. Even Amy Lowell, whose whole heritage was steeped in the English tradition and whose affections clung still to the memory of mandolins and the sight of twisted eglantine, participated as actively in the revolt as the poets of the mid-Western school. In fact, her ardent

defense of the new tendencies in modern verse was no small contributing factor to the poetic renaissance that occurred in America in the 'teens. Two other women were important in this same way, Harriet Monroe, who in her magazine *Poetry* rallied together a large number of the revolting poets of the era, and Margaret Anderson, who in her magazine *The Little Review* carried on the same work in prose as well as poetry.

What these poets did was to deal with the American background in their own personal way, for their revolt was individualistic and not social in motivation. That is why Whitman's individualistic defiance of the old verse-forms won such rapid acceptance with this new school. In some instances, as in the poetry of E. E. Cummings and Gertrude Stein, this individualism ran to such incommunicable extremes that it became nothing more than

hopeless abracadabra. For the most part, however, in the poetry of Sandburg, Frost, Robinson, Lindsay and Masters it maintained a happy poise between outer fact and inner reality. Intent upon the American scene as it really was, these new poets, despite all their individualistic conflicts in theory and technique, at once renounced the declaration of Howells that "the more smiling aspects of life are the more American." Instead they saw something happening in America that was as far removed from "the smiling aspects of life" as is a stretch of countryside from a coastline of skyscrapers. America had become a leading nation, a world power—but in what? In machinery, inventions, goods—a nation whirling forward upon a pivot of steam and steel. But what was happening to the soul of the individual? It was being crushed,

divorced from itself, standardized, destroyed in its initiative and genius. Hence the individualistic aspect of this revolt of the literati, this valiant protest against those forces in our life that were sacrificing the individual to the machine.

Edgar Lee Masters was one of the first of American poets to give voice to this revolt. In free verse stanzas, built upon cadences of his own device, he painted a picture of an American village in *The Spoon River Anthology* such as had never been seen before in American literature. A country town is made to live in these poems through the drab, unromantic monologues of the dead. In these stanzas taken from the prologue to *The Spoon River Anthology* something of the new attitude we have described can be felt:

Where are Elmer, Herman, Bert, Tom
and Charley,
The weak of will, the strong of arm, the
clown, the boozier, the fighter?
All, all, are sleeping on the hill.

One passed in a fever,
One was burned in a mine,
One was killed in a brawl,
One died in a jail,
One fell from a bridge toiling for chil-
dren and wife—
All, all, are sleeping, sleeping on the hill.

Where are Ella, Kate, Mag, Lizzie and
Edith,
The tender heart, the simple soul, the
loud, the proud, the happy one?—
All, all, are sleeping on the hill.

One died in shameful child-birth,
One of a thwarted love,
One of a broken pride, in the search for
heart's desire,
One after life in far-away London and
Paris
Was brought to her little space by Ella
and Kate and Mag—
All, all, are sleeping, sleeping on the
hill. * * *

In all the poems in this volume this same spirit prevails. Here are not "the smiling aspects of life" but the more drab, the more gloomy, the more realistic. This is what, in Mr. Masters's eyes, is happening to the small town in this age of expanding cities. Life has been sucked out there, dried at its root. The impulse to beauty cannot

live in such a milieu. The soul of the individual cannot survive in the face of such conditions.

This same protest, directed against other backgrounds than that of the village, is present in most of the poetry of our era. Carl Sandburg has done for the city what Masters did for the country. In *Smoke and Steel* his challenge rose into a fierce cry. Vachel Lindsay, in the early days of this revolt, was still more clamorous in his denunciations. Even the poetry of Robert Frost, which retreats more often for its themes to a sequestered river or



From *Men About Town*, by
Gene Markey, Covici-McGee, 1924

SHERWOOD ANDERSON

quiet farmside, is not without this note of despair. If the spirit of Frost's poetry is more mellow than morbid, it is not because there is not in it an awareness of what is happening to the rustic environment which he cherishes and to America as a whole. Nor is that spirit absent in the poetry of Edwin Arlington Robinson. Robinson's satiric line, in his poem *The Master*, "the shopman's test of age and worth," is illustrative of his attack upon the tendency of our time.

All that we discovered in *The Spoon River Anthology*, finds another outlet in many of the novels of this generation. Ruth Suckow's peasants in *Country People* are very similar to Masters's characters in *The Spoon River Anthology*. In Willa Cather's novels, in particular in *My Antonia* and *The Professor's House*, we are confronted with an equally vivid picture of what has happened to the old type of peasant, the pioneer, with the closing of the frontier and the decay of farm and ranch. Sherwood Anderson, in *Winesburg, Ohio*, *A Storyteller's Story*, and especially in

Poor White, comes to grips with the same problem. What all these novelists have done has been to see the American scene in its more rustic aspects, and interpret it in forms best adapted to their materials. As a consequence, they are all American novels, distinctly American. There is nothing imitative about them. Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio*, is as intensely American as Frost's *North of Boston* or Masters' *Spoon River Anthology* or Lindsay's *Congo*. These authors not only go to the American scene for their materials, but they give these materials a form and a rhythm that are as native as their origins.

In line with this new American trend, so to speak, no figure stands out more prominently than Sinclair Lewis. In *Main Street* Lewis wrote *The Spoon River Anthology* in a prose version. Lewis, however, possessed a satiric tact that Masters never employed. The emptiness of small-town life, the shallow lives of its inhabitants, the pretenses and passions of the place, all are portrayed with an accuracy that is

photographic except in the details of its satire. *Babbitt* is an even more successful satire. Here again we have America revealed as it had never been revealed before in nineteenth century literature. *Babbitt* is an American type, a "hundred per cent American." Zenith is and only could be an American town. *Elmer Gantry* could only be an American. Even the style of these satires is American in its manner of burlesque. No one but an American could have written such books.

In the novels of Theodore Dreiser and the dramas of Eugene O'Neill the country and the small town appear with much less frequency. Certain of O'Neill's earlier plays harked back to such scenes, but nothing of his in recent years has revealed that emphasis. On the other hand,



From *Caricature of Today*, A. & C. Boni, 1928

EUGENE O'NEILL

O'Neill as well as Dreiser is concerned with the machine and the metropolis. American drama, before the coming of O'Neill and his immediate contemporaries, was as un-American as the earlier American novels. The twentieth century, however, with the advance of America in the world sphere, had released the energy for a new drama as well as a new literature, and in such plays as Moody's *The Great Divide* and *The Faith Healer* we had harbingers of what was finally to culminate in a more genuinely American drama in the works of Philip Barry, Sidney Howard, Paul Green and Eugene O'Neill. O'Neill is closer to the American scene than any other dramatist. In *The Hairy Ape*, *Strange Interlude* and *Dynamo* he has plunged deeply into problems in the American environment that no other American writer has touched except superficially. More than that, he has dealt with them in a thoroughly original American manner. There is no going back to the English drama for inspiration in the plays of O'Neill. On the contrary, there is a constant advance toward a new technique, a technique that O'Neill himself is evolving out of his own background and his own method of interpretation.

O'Neill's dramas are similar in spirit to the novels of Dreiser. The same utilitarian philosophy runs through the works of both of them. Although O'Neill never touches upon the field of "Big Business," which is Dreiser's special preoccupation, he is just as much concerned with the fate of the individual in America as is Dreiser. Dreiser's novels all repeat one constant refrain—the hopeless plight of the individual in contemporary society. The dominance of impersonal forces over personal is his intellectual obsession. The individualistic type, the fine, sensitive soul, is always being destroyed by forces beyond his control. The shadow of an over-awing fate hangs over him and foreordains his defeat. This motif of despair is to be found in almost everything of Dreiser and O'Neill. *The Titan*, *The Financier* and *The American Tragedy* illustrate it in melodramatic detail.



From *On Parade*, by Eva Herrmann, Coward-McCann, 1929

THORNTON WILDER

And such plays as *Beyond the Horizon*, *The Hairy Ape*, *Desire Under the Elms*, *Strange Interlude* and *Dynamo* but give this philosophy a different and yet no less compelling turn. In *Dynamo*, for example, O'Neill has gone much further in this direction than he had in *Beyond the Horizon*. In the latter play, the machine had exercised no definite part in the tragedy. In the former, however, the machine is the decisive force. In fact, the machine becomes at once a mystic entity, a monster, a god. The individual is but a slave to its dooming magic. The future is to the machine—not to its creator.

This whole struggle, then, which is such a stirring force in modern American literature, arises out of the inability of the individual to find ample expression for himself in a corporate, mechanistic society; or, put in other words, the difficulty of expressing in-

dividualism in philosophy in a world that is socialized beyond individualistic control. The artist in particular, whose individuality has been edged on to the point of idiosyncrasy in its struggle for survival, has felt this contradiction in its most devastating forms. The standardization of American life which has come with the advance of American industry, the emphasis upon commercialism which has even invaded the arts, are all features of the contemporary scene that the American artist has set out to attack. It is just this standardization and commercialization that Sinclair Lewis has satirized, Upton Sinclair has denounced and Theodore Dreiser has loathed.

It is in the critical world that this struggle has taken on its newest form. The fight over Humanism has provided a fresh battleground for modern artists and critics. The Humanists, led by Irving Babbitt and Paul Elmer More, have taken a stand against the whole spirit of the modern age. Implicit in this stand is their opposition to science and the machine epoch. Their emphasis upon dualism as an approach is in sub-

tle keeping with their logic. As individualists they realize that one cannot save the individual and at the same time exalt the machine. Hence their stress upon religion instead of science as a touchstone of values. The anti-Humanists, unfortunately, have spent most of their time attacking the religious element in the New Humanism instead of coming to grips with the individualistic aspect of the problem which is what must be confronted in this age. The decline in the influence of Mr. Mencken, who was the leading American critic of the twenties, is to be attributed in part no doubt to his failure to supply any further intellectual guidance in the face of this ever intensifying and harassing problem.

In becoming Americanized, then, American literature has taken on new burdens. It may escape them in the fashion of James Branch Cabell or Thornton Wilder, and focus its interest in Poictesme or Peru, or it will have to meet them in their new forms as is being attempted by such writers as John Dos Passos, Michael Gold and Ernest Hemingway.

The United States and the World Court

By CARL L. W. MEYER

LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE STAFF, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WHEN LAST December the American Chargé d'Affaires at Berne, Switzerland, signed in behalf of the United States the three protocols concerning the Permanent Court of International Justice (the World Court), that event, despite its magnitude, passed practically unnoticed. Before long these protocols will be submitted to the Senate for ratification. Already they have been accepted by several of the fifty-three members of the League of Nations, notably by Great Britain, France and Holland.

On Jan. 27, 1926, the United States Senate, by a vote of 76 to 17, passed a resolution stipulating that this country should join the Court, but subject to the following reservations:

1. That such adherence shall not be taken to involve any legal relation on the part of the United States to the League of Nations or the assumption of any obligations by the United States under the Treaty of Versailles.

2. That the United States shall be permitted to participate through representatives designated for the purpose and upon an equality with the other States, members, respectively, of the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations, in any and all proceedings of either the Council or the Assembly for the election of judges or deputy judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice or for the filling of vacancies.

3. That the United States will pay a fair share of the expenses of the Court as determined and appropriated from time to time by the Congress of the United States.

4. That the United States may at any time withdraw its adherence to the said protocol and that the statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice adjoined to the protocol shall not be amended without the consent of the United States.

5. That the Court shall not render any advisory opinion except publicly after due notice to all States adhering to the court and to all interested States and after public hearing or opportunity for

hearing given to any State concerned; nor shall it, without the consent of the United States, entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest.

To consider the acceptability of these conditions the States signatories of the Court protocol met in conference at Geneva in September, 1926. The first three reservations were accepted by the conference without change. So far as the fourth reservation is concerned, the conference inserted in the Final Act, setting forth the conclusions of the conference, an explanatory clause to the effect that in order to assure equality of treatment the signatory States "should possess the corresponding right to withdraw their acceptance of the special conditions attached by the United States to the adherence of the said protocol"; that is to say, the other signatory powers reserved the right by a vote of two-thirds majority to withdraw from the protocol if they wished to do so.

The real difficulty, however, was caused by the fifth reservation according to which the court was not to render any advisory opinion touching disputes or questions in which the United States "has or claims an interest." This proviso was found to be all the more perplexing since there was no indication as to how the other nations were to understand or to be informed of such claims or interests. In order to explain their position the delegates declared in the Final Act that the fifth reservation "appears to rest upon the presumption that the adoption of a request for an advisory opinion by the Council or Assembly requires a unanimous vote"; they further observed that "no such presumption has so far been established," and that it was therefore impossible to say whether a decision

by a majority was not sufficient. In any event, it was pointed out, the United States was to be guaranteed a position of equality in this respect. In other words, the conference agreed that the United States was to have the same right to oppose a request for an advisory opinion as a State represented in the Council or Assembly of the League of Nations.

Here the matter was permitted to rest for more than two years; and it might possibly have been consigned to oblivion if the signatory powers had not by the same act invited our government to engage in "such further exchange of views as the Government of the United States may think useful." The task before the proponents of the court was to find a solution, a bridge as it were, which would make it possible to link the Senate reservations with the compromise offer of the signatory powers. This task was entrusted to Elihu Root.

Before the meeting of the Committee of Jurists in March, 1929, at which Mr. Root presented his plan or "formula," Senator Gillett of Massachusetts had on Feb. 6, 1928, introduced in the Senate a resolution suggesting to the President of the United States that, in accordance with the proposal by the signatory States for a further exchange of views, such exchange be entered into "in order to establish whether the differences between the United States and the signatory States can be satisfactorily adjusted." On Nov. 24, 1928, President Coolidge announced that he desired to have a further exchange of views with the signatory powers, and Senator Gillett a few days later asked to have his resolution lie over pending the result of the President's initiative.

In accordance with the President's desire Secretary Kellogg, on Feb. 19, 1929, sent a note to each of the governments which had signed the Protocol of Signature of the Statute of the World Court and to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, stating in part that the protocol submitted in 1926 by the twenty-four governments in relation to the fifth reservation of the

United States Government "would not furnish adequate protection to the United States," but that a further exchange of views as contemplated by the governments "should lead to agreement upon some provision which in unobjectionable form would protect the rights and interests of the United States as an adherent to the Court Statute." This note was considered by the League Council on March 9, 1929. Sir Austen Chamberlain, who had brought the matter before the Council, pointed out that the Committee of Jurists appointed by the Council in December, 1928, a committee of which Mr. Root was a member, was about to consider the desirability of revising the Court Statute. The Council thereupon adopted a resolution requesting the committee to make any suggestions which it was able to offer with a view to facilitating the accession of the United States "on conditions satisfactory to all the interests concerned." When the committee met in Geneva on March 11, 1929, it had before it Mr. Kellogg's message, addressed to the Secretary General of the League, as well as a draft project submitted by Mr. Root in his own name and since generally known as the "Root Formula."

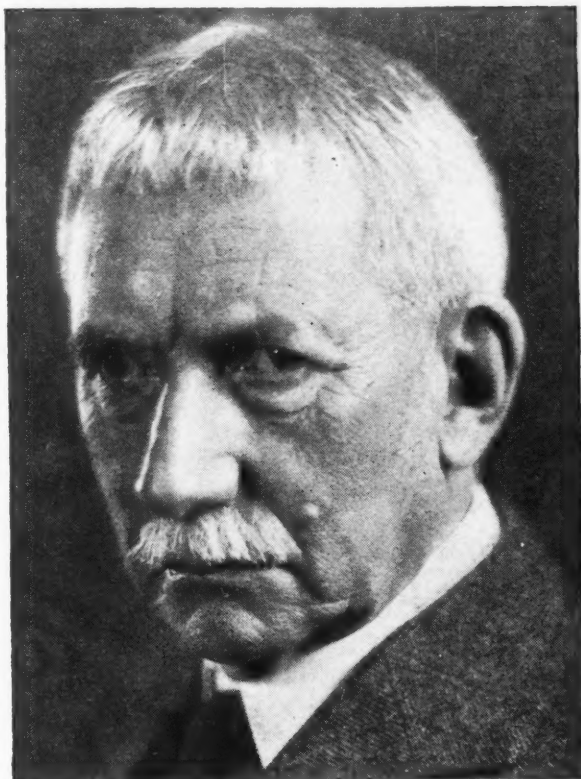
This formula, a suggested redraft of Article 4 of the Protocol which had been proposed by the signatory powers in 1926, lays down the principles that "the Court shall not, without the consent of the United States, render an advisory opinion touching any dispute to which the United States is a party" nor "render an advisory opinion touching any dispute to which the United States is not a party but in which it claims an interest, or touching any question other than a dispute in which the United States claims an interest."

On the basis of Mr. Root's suggestions the Committee of Jurists in its report of March 18, 1929, proposed the adoption of a new protocol which was to supersede that of 1926, referred to above. A revised draft protocol was prepared which was submitted to the Council of the League of Nations and adopted by that body at its session at

Madrid on June 12, 1929. The texts of the report of the Committee of Jurists and of the draft protocol were then forwarded to the Government of the United States. It was necessary, however, that the protocol should also be formally approved by the Assembly of the League before it was opened for signature, since the agreement which it embodies affects the right of the Assembly to ask for advisory opinions from the Court, even if this right so far has never been exercised by that body. The formal approval of the Assembly was given on Sept. 14, 1929, after the signatory States in conference assembled had duly examined the draft protocol together with certain amendments to the Court statute proposed by the Committee of Jurists. On that memorable day the protocol was signed by forty-nine States; and it is to come into force as soon as the States parties to the protocol of Dec. 16, 1920, and the United States shall have deposited their ratifications.

Before the adoption of the protocol by the Assembly the Minister of the United States to Switzerland had on Aug. 14, 1929, presented an *aide-mémoire* to the Secretary General of the League, stating that Secretary of State Stimson, after careful examination of the draft protocol, considered that it "would effectively meet the objections represented in the reservations of the United States Senate" and that it "would constitute a satisfactory basis of adherence of the United States to the protocol and statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice."

Finally, on Dec. 9, 1929, by authority of President Hoover, his signature was affixed at Geneva to the documents providing for the membership of the United States in the World Court. The President's authority to sign was given on



Wide World Studio

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Nov. 26, 1929, after the receipt of Secretary Stimson's note of recommendation, dated Nov. 18, 1929. The documents signed in behalf of the United States are (1) the Protocol of Signature of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice; (2) the Protocol of Accession of the United States of America to the Protocol of Signature of the Statute of the Court, and (3) the Protocol of Revision of the Statute of the Court.

According to the provisions of the last of these protocols "the present protocol shall enter into force on Sept. 1, 1930, provided that the Council of the League of Nations has satisfied itself that those members of the League of Nations and States mentioned in the annex to the covenant which have ratified the protocol of Dec. 16, 1920, and whose ratification of the present pro-

tol has not been received by that date, have no objection to the coming into force of the amendments to the Statute of the Court which are annexed to the present protocol." Article 7 furthermore declares that for the purpose of the present protocol, the United States of America shall be in the same position "as a State which has ratified the protocol of Dec. 16, 1920." All that remains to be done now to make the United States a member of the World Court is the ratification of the three protocols enumerated above by the President of the United States with the advice and consent of the United States Senate and the deposition of such ratification at Geneva.

As has already been noted, all the Senate's reservations have now been fully accepted by the signatory powers with the exception of the fifth dealing with the advisory capacity of the Court. An agreement concerning this knotty problem also was finally reached by the Committee of Jurists. It is dealt with in Article 5 of the draft protocol which reads as follows:

Article 5—With a view to insuring that the Court shall not, without the consent of the United States, entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest, the Secretary General of the League of Nations shall, through any channel designated for that purpose by the United States, inform the United States of any proposal before the Council or the Assembly of the League for obtaining an advisory opinion from the Court, and thereupon, if desired, an exchange of views as to whether an interest of the United States is affected shall proceed with all convenient speed between the Council or Assembly of the League and the United States.

Whenever a request for an advisory opinion comes to the Court, the Registrar shall notify the United States thereof, among other States mentioned in the now existing Article 73 of the Rules of the Court, stating a reasonable time limit fixed by the President within which a written statement by the United States concerning the request will be received. If for any reason no sufficient opportunity for an exchange of views upon such request should have been afforded and the United States advises the Court that the question upon which the opinion of the Court is asked is one that affects

the interests of the United States, proceedings shall be stayed for a period sufficient to enable such an exchange of views between the Council or the Assembly and the United States to take place.

With regard to requesting an advisory opinion of the Court in any case covered by the preceding paragraphs, there shall be attributed to an objection of the United States the same force and effect as attaches to a vote against asking for the opinion given by a member of the League of Nations in the Council or in the Assembly.

If, after the exchange of views provided for in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article, it shall appear that no agreement can be reached and the United States is not prepared to forgo its objection, the exercise of the powers of withdrawal provided for in Article 8 hereof will follow naturally without any imputation of unfriendliness or unwillingness to cooperate generally for peace and good-will.

Why, it has sometimes been asked, should there be any objection to the giving of advisory opinions by the World Court? The answer is that the Council or the Assembly might possibly feel tempted to use the Court, by a request for an advisory opinion, as a means to force political issues. An attempt of this sort, it has been alleged, was made in April, 1925, when the Court was requested to render an advisory opinion concerning the effect of the treaty of peace between Finland and the Soviet Union in regard to the autonomy of Eastern Carelia, formerly a province of the Russian Empire. On the coming of this request before the Court some months later it was found that the Soviet Union on account of its Communistic outlook had declined to take any part in the proceedings. The question thus was not submitted with the consent of the Soviet Union, and the Court thereupon refused to render any advisory opinion, saying that it found it to be a well-established rule of international law that "no State can without its consent be compelled to submit its dispute to other States, whether to mediation or to arbitration, or to any other means of pacific settlement." Judge Moore, the American member of the Court, was particularly anxious that the Court, being a court

of justice, should not "even in giving advisory opinions depart from the essential rules guiding their activities as a Court."

In order to allay the fears of those who believe that the Court's rulings in the Eastern Carelia case may at some future date be reversed, the rule of conduct laid down by the Court itself will now be made binding upon it by an amendment in the new protocol recently signed by the United States Government. The giving of advisory opinions by the Court without the consent of the parties involved in the controversy has thus once and for all been made impossible, and no disputes or controversies "to whatever degree" may be brought before the World Court without the consent of the United States if this country actually has an interest in them. As to the rendering of advisory opinions, touching disputes or questions in which the United States claims an interest, the procedure to ascertain such claims or allegations has also been laid down in the new protocol.

Finally, the question as to whether or not the Council or the Assembly shall be deprived of the right to ask for

an advisory opinion in affairs in which the United States claims to have an interest brings us to the last issue of the whole matter. The ultimate issue stripped of all embellishments is this: Shall the United States be satisfied with the proposal of the signatory States that it is to have the same power to prevent the giving of an advisory opinion as any of the other signatories, or shall this country refuse to adhere to the revised protocol, even if it is agreed that our government's decision to withdraw from the protocol if its views are not shared by a majority of the other nations shall not be regarded as an unfriendly act? It is to be expected, moreover, that requests for advisory opinions will decrease in the future, especially since most of the nations, including nearly all of the great powers, have accepted the principle of compulsory jurisdiction by the Court.

In the last analysis the adherence to the Court protocol revolves about the question as to whether or not the United States shall lend its support and assistance to the maintenance of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

Public Versus Private Ownership of Electric Power

By FLOYD L. CARLISLE

Whether private or government operation of power utilities can better serve the consumer is a question over which experts are battling today. At the second World Power Conference in Berlin last June Frederick M. Sackett, United States Ambassador to Germany and a former utility president, declared: "I know of no other manufacturing industry where the sale price of the product to the great mass of consumers is fifteen times the actual cost of production. There exists in America a rapidly growing body of public opinion led by laymen of great ability which is demanding governmental competition in rates with private power enterprises. This public clamor cites with enthusiasm the delivered cost of certain municipally owned systems in neighboring countries as proof of the iniquity of charges for electricity by our privately operated plants." This is the issue discussed by Mr. Carlisle, chairman of the Niagara Hudson Power Corporation, in the following article, comparing governmental and private plants operating side by side in New York State and Ontario. Governor Roosevelt of New York regards the question as the outstanding national issue, and the controversy has split asunder political groups in Congress and in State Legislatures.

THE FIRST ELECTRIC generating station in the United States was opened in New York City on Sept. 4, 1882. The growth of the electric industry was slow but progressive. In 1902, 2,500,000,000 kilowatt hours of electricity were generated in the United States from all sources. Since then the figures computed by the United States census and the *Electrical World* on power generated at central stations are as follows:

Kilowatt Hours	Kilowatt Hours
1907.. 5,862,000,000	1927... 74,686,000,000
1917.. 25,438,000,000	1928... 82,927,000,000
1922.. 43,560,000,000	1929... 92,737,000,000

The gross revenues received by the electrical companies grew from 1902 to 1929 as follows:

1902.. \$85,700,000	1927.... 1,802,655,000
1907.. 175,600,000	1928.... 1,941,955,000
1917.. *521,000,000	1929.... 2,073,100,000
1922.. *1,084,000,000	

*Includes income from merchandising and other miscellaneous income.

The number of individual customers, including householders and manufacturers, grew as follows:

Jan. 1—	Jan. 1—
1908..... 1,946,000	1929..... 23,219,513
1923..... 12,709,868	1930..... 24,257,159
1928..... 21,790,238	

The growth of capital invested has been as follows:

Jan. 1—	Jan. 1—
1903... \$627,000,000	1928... 9,500,000,000
1908... 1,341,000,000	1929... 10,300,000,000
1918... 3,245,185,000	1930... 11,100,000,000
1927... 8,400,000,000	

During this period no exact figures are available as to the change in rates, except that the domestic average has been declining, and is now, for the country as a whole, 6.18 cents per kilowatt hour for domestic use, as compared with 8.3 cents per kilowatt hour for domestic use in 1914. On the basis of reductions in the domestic rate in New York State outside Greater New York, savings to consumers were

\$21,000,000 for the year 1928 over the amount that would have been paid had the 1912 rates prevailed. The cost of electricity to industry has been steadily on the decline, and in most sections the old individual plants generating for industries have been abandoned and power is being purchased from the central stations.

Municipal operation in the United States produces less than 5 per cent of the total. The greater number of municipal plants are in very small villages, where no real comparison is available. It is almost impossible to make comparisons between municipal and private operation, owing to the fact that municipalities do not pay taxes, and there are no figures available to ascertain the amount of operating expenses borne directly by the city and not charged to the electrical operating department.

The amount of taxes of all kinds paid by the public utility corporations varies from 10 to 20 per cent of their gross income. This amount is so large that municipal operations would have to be subject to the same charges in order to make a comparison valuable, for, after all, taxes paid by the power plants reduce the burden to the general taxpayer to that extent.

The Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario and its allied municipalities furnish the nearest basis for comparison. The writer has the highest personal regard for the ability and honesty of its members and for the Government of Ontario. Our companies transact business with the Hydro satisfactorily to us and we hope to continue it, for the arrangement is mutually beneficial. The commission is, in the writer's opinion, the best managed and operated government enterprise in the world.

Assuming a 10 per cent loss of energy in transmission, a very conservative estimate upon the energy sold by the Hydro, and deducting the kilowatt hours passing to the United States, in 1928 the Hydro sold within its own borders 3,061,545,371 kilowatt hours for \$32,431,648. In that

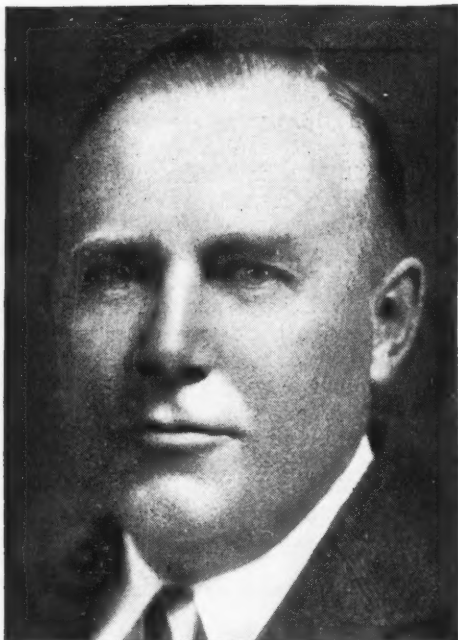
same year the Buffalo, Niagara and Eastern group of companies, being quite comparable with the Hydro as to location, sold 4,436,403,784 kilowatt hours for \$32,911,782; yet, during that year, the latter companies paid in taxes \$4,546,413. These sales include all power sold to householders, to farmers and to industry.

The Hydro Commission and its associated municipalities paid substantially no taxes to the government. Deducting taxes to make the figures comparable, the American companies in the Buffalo, Niagara and Eastern group received 6.4 mills per kilowatt hour sold, whereas the Canadian Commission received 10.04 mills. The Hydro Commission generated all its energy from water-power, largely at Niagara Falls, while 20 per cent of the Buffalo, Niagara and Eastern energy was produced by steam at a much higher cost owing to lack of water-power.

The figures are all conclusive on an overall comparison of the two systems, but the critic says to privately operated companies, "Your household rates are higher." This is true, and must necessarily be true in a system which pays taxes. In 1928, for the entire Niagara Hudson system, householders and farmers alone paid \$14,937,189.91 for their electricity. In that year the companies paid taxes of \$10,118,867. The Hydro Commission paid substantially nothing. Obviously, the Niagara Hudson system could have sold this electricity to the householders and farmers for \$4,818,322.91 and made as much money for their stockholders if no taxes had been paid.

The low power rates in New York State have resulted in enormous industrial expansion. In fact, they have made that State the greatest centre for the use of power in the world. Additional capacity of 300,000 horsepower is being completed in Buffalo at the present time, and all this has been sold for industrial uses in the years 1930 and 1931.

If the State of New York were to take over the gas and electric properties within its borders and pay for



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them at their present values, the cost would be over \$4,000,000,000. These companies are expending for 1930 over \$150,000,000 for normal growth. If the State owned the companies it would require at least that additional capital per year. If the St. Lawrence River, Niagara Falls and the inland streams were to be further developed, the State would have to bond for billions more.

While no exact figures are available, the gas and electric companies of New York State are annually paying in all forms of taxation at least \$40,000,000 to the towns, villages, cities, counties, and State and Federal Government. Consolidated Gas of New York companies pay more than \$25,000,000, and the Niagara Hudson group more than \$10,000,000. In addition, the companies are paying interest on bonds and dividends on preferred and common stocks of approximately \$150,000,000 per year, which sum, in turn, is subject to the payment of taxes by those who receive it. While no figures have been compiled, the revenues received by the

various governments from this source may be estimated at approximately \$15,000,000. The amount which the governments receive from death dues or inheritance taxes varies from year to year, but is another very large sum, probably averaging \$10,000,000. Stock issue and stock transfer taxes constitute another large source of revenue to the State, which the writer estimates at \$5,000,000 per year. It is difficult to see how, under government ownership, the various governments can replace the loss of this \$65,000,000 in taxes annually without imposing it elsewhere. The advocates of government ownership are all advocates of much lower power rates than are now being charged. Lower rates will mean less income, and that can only be made up in the form of additional taxation.

If the State should take over the power companies and if science should evolve a new and cheaper means of generating and distributing electricity, the State or municipalities bonded for \$4,000,000,000 plus, to take over the present companies, might well be in the position of paying for a dead horse. This is exactly what would have happened had the State taken over the interurban railways, whose economic status was changed by the automobile and truck.

In the event that the State or municipalities should take over the existing public utilities, the money would have to come from the same investors who now buy the public utility securities. There could be no change in the sources from which the money comes. These sources will always be those who have available money with which to make the investments. Assuming that the State itself acquired the existing utilities and issued bonds free from taxation to the present owners of their securities, nothing would happen immediately, except that all the securities now outstanding would be no longer available to be taxed, and that the risk and hazard of the public utility business would be shifted from the investor himself to the State, and the State would have no means of paying

such debt or the interest thereon, except through earnings of the properties and the ability to tax property and private incomes.

For centuries it has been believed that the function of governments was to engage only in such activities as the building of roads, schools and charities, providing for the health and policing for the security of its citizens. As a corollary of this principle, governments were restricted in the pledge of their credit for only these purposes. As soon as the credit of a government or subdivision thereof is extended into the legitimate fields of private business, the use of credit for proper functions is jeopardized.

It is, furthermore, difficult to see any compelling reason for a change in the present system of regulation. Against rising taxes, higher cost of labor and higher cost of materials, the electrical industries have in the past twenty years been reducing the selling price of their product. The critics of the present form of regulation cannot deny the fact that the industry as a whole has done its job well and enormously increased the quality of its service at descending rates. This ordinarily would be the measure of success of an industry.

Rate cases and controversies between the companies and their consumers have almost entirely centred in the household rate, and the interest in government operation is also concentrated on this feature. In the Niagara Hudson group of companies only $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the kilowatt hours sold are used by the householder, the balance going almost entirely to industry. The proportion of gross revenue is approximately 20 per cent from the householder and the balance from industry. Government operation would therefore mean injecting the State into dealing with its basic industries and manufactures for 80 per cent of operating income, when its real purpose

would be concerned with only 20 per cent. The intimate relation between the sale of electricity for industrial purposes and the manufacturer using it is such that it should be entirely divorced from any vestige of political control. As a matter of fact, manufacturers using large amounts of electricity would not dare to rely upon political operation for the basic element in their manufacturing cost. Changing political parties and doctrines might well mean changing rates on power to manufacturers. The great number of large purchasers of electricity cover their requirements by contract for twenty or more years at a fixed rate. From the power company's standpoint this manufacturing load is the backbone of its business. Such sales of electricity are furthermore really competitive, because the industry using large quantities will only purchase more cheaply than they could generate the energy in their own plants. This phase of public ownership has never received its proper stress. Furthermore, to separate the household use and the manufacturing use would raise the cost of both classes of service. One dovetails into the other.

Regulation limiting the earnings of companies to a reasonable return on the value of the property at the time the rate is fixed is a sound basis upon which enormous expansion has taken place and capital has freely flowed into the industry. To change this for public ownership would be an experiment warranted only by rising costs and inadequate service and not by any conditions existing today.

The hope of the consumer does not lie in a multiplicity of new statutes and new theories. It lies in the economic sources that we have, plus a standard of morality in the management of the corporation that truthfully has a public point of view as well as a private one. Sound economics and able, public-spirited management are the only things that can produce lower rates.

The Japan of Today

By HAROLD S. QUIGLEY

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THE YEARS since the end of the World War have been difficult ones for Japan. Economic crises, proletarian unrest, diplomatic anxieties—and added to these the physical and psychological effects of the great earthquake—have raised contrary winds against the natural current of progress. Especially significant has been the passing of elder statesmen and the assumption of leadership by men not trained as *samurai* but as civil servants and party politicians. The latter have, however, displayed the same astuteness, the same capacity to maintain order, the same devotion to the throne and the State that marked their predecessors.

Whether one visits Japan's great ports, enters her handsome stone banks, observes her high-power electric cables borne across rice fields and green hills on the shoulders of steel giants, rides across the city of Tokyo in one of its huge fleet of smart and comfortable taxis, or analyzes the statistics of Japanese production, finance and trade, one is impressed at every turn by the scope and influence of her industrial revolution. The completion of the reconstruction of Tokyo, formally celebrated on March 24, 1930, following the great earthquake of 1923, provided final proof, if that were necessary, that from the economic point of view Japan is a modern country in the Western sense. The far-reaching effects of this fact in the political realm makes it advisable to look first into recent aspects of Japan's economic and social development. The statistics here given are taken principally from the Twenty-ninth Financial and Economic Annual of Japan, dated 1929, issued by the Japanese Department of Finance.

The population of Japan proper at the end of 1918 was 56,667,711. At the

end of 1927 it had grown to 63,862,538, an increase to the square kilometer of from 146.07 to 167.36 persons. During the same period the number of factories employing power machinery rose from 15,632 to 43,726, and the number of operators in all factories increased from 1,409,196 to 1,898,872, females outnumbering males in the latter year by more than 50,000. The volume of production quadrupled during the decade 1917-1927. Bank deposits rose from 8,136,375,000 yen in 1918 to 11,757,321,000 yen in 1928. (One yen is normally worth nearly 50 cents.) The rise of wages between 1918 and 1921, in a number of occupations, was 100 per cent above the old level. But if the average wage during 1921-2-3 be taken as 100 the total average index number for 1928 was identical with that for 1922, viz., 102.2. Retail prices dropped from an average of 235.88 in 1922 to 184.19 in 1928, taking July, 1914, as 100.

Japan's foreign trade in merchandise increased from 3,630,244,501 yen in 1918 to 4,168,270,079 yen in 1928, with the peak year in 1925 when total commerce was valued at 4,878,247,670 yen. Japanese cottons were sold in Lancashire and competed with those of America in China. The exchange value of the yen averaged 50.81 cents in New York in 1918 but only 46.57 cents in 1928. While Japan's exports exceeded her imports during all four years of the great war the reverse situation has prevailed since the war. However, during the first five post-war years her "invisible" exports were so large that she accumulated 4,000,000,000 yen (\$2,000,000,000) as the result of the war. Specie holdings in 1920 were seven times those of 1914. In 1928 Japan exported to the United States commodities of a value over five times that of her exports to all Europe, including Great Britain,

and worth only 9,000,000 yen less than her exports to all Asia outside her own possessions. Her imports from the United States in 1928 were nearly 60 per cent greater than those from all Europe but were 30 per cent less than those from Asiatic countries.

Between March 31, 1918, and April 1, 1928, the railway mileage of Japan increased from 8,014.73 to 11,654.01. Receipts from passenger fares were higher in 1927-1928 by 125 per cent than in 1917-1918, those from freight by 100 per cent. Net profit of the railways—both state and private—rose from 53,174,040 yen to 192,592,529 yen during that decade. Power-driven shipping increased in gross tonnage from 2,337,679 to 3,728,700.

The volume of the principal food crops declined while that of fruits and tobacco increased notably. The production of cocoons and tea also increased but the value of each crop was less in 1928 than in 1919. All varieties of domestic animals save horses increased; the amount of fish taken increased by 50 per cent.

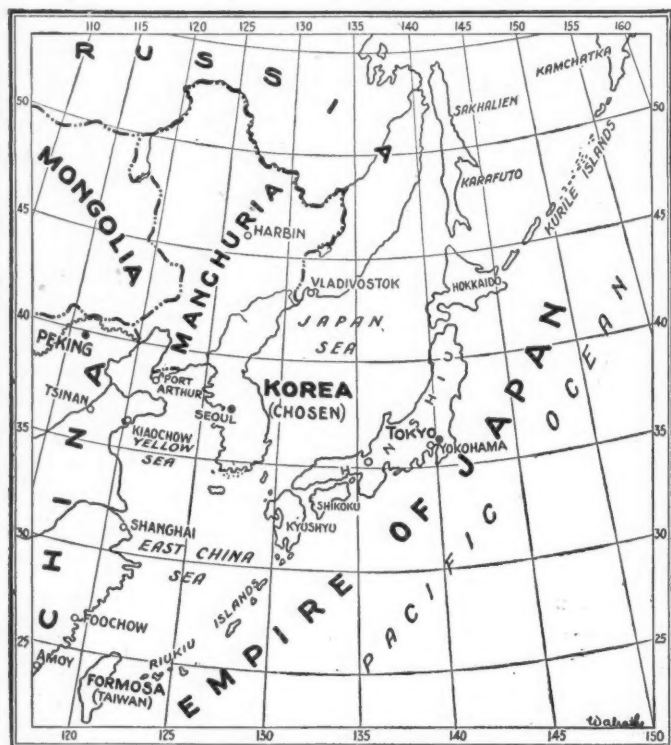
While these figures show the essentially sound development of Japan's economic life since the great war, they do not present any roseate picture. The country weathered one panic in 1920 and a financial stringency closely approaching panic in 1927. The prosperity of Japanese manufacturers during and immediately after the war resulted in expansion and inflation, and scenes in the Tokyo Stock Exchange in the latter part of 1919 resembled the skyrocketing of stocks in New York in 1928. When the reaction following the falling-off of foreign trade set in, in 1920, stocks fell rapidly with consequent liquidations. The shock was met by restricted production but the earthquake in September, 1923, amounting in damages to 1,500,000,000 yen (approximately \$750,000,000), compelled increased production and borrowing. The national government contributed 573,438,849 yen toward reconstruction and the local governments 193,179,475 yen. The war-time embargo on the export of gold was maintained, protecting the stock

of precious metal but also supporting intolerably high prices. The crisis of 1927, in which the Suzuki company failed with liabilities of \$250,000,000, was a further consequence of the earthquake. The government then saved the Bank of Japan with loans with which it in turn went to the rescue of other government and private concerns.

Since 1927 the amalgamation of banks and stricter banking laws, "rationalization" in industry and business and retrenchment in governmental expenditures have promoted a gradual recovery of stability. The depression in the United States during 1929, however, seriously affected Japan's export trade in silk. The removal of the embargo on gold on Jan. 11, 1930, followed by a considerable outflow of specie, caused a depression of prices which shook the Stock Exchanges, closed or reduced the output of factories and threw hundreds of thousands of persons out of work. The government is now still faced with serious problems of aiding industry and labor, and also agriculture which, too, has felt the effects of deflation.

Social changes are less obvious than economic, more gradual and more difficult to date, less conscious. In Japan, although they have occurred, they have been retarded by governmental opposition to changes in an ancient and unique culture.

The most significant development in the Japanese social order is the heightened dignity and influence of labor, to which the war gave a great impetus. By organizing unions and federations it obtained better wages and better conditions of work. Although no law recognizes or regulates labor unions, they now are tolerated and are influential. Recently the repeal of Section 17 of the public peace and safety police act (passed in 1900) abolished the chief instrument for administrative repression of labor combinations. Before 1918 there existed only eleven labor unions; in 1919, as the result of the outburst of industrial activity during the war, sixty new unions were formed. In that year alone 497 strikes were recorded.



MAP OF JAPAN

Relations between capital and labor in Japan improved through the participation of Japanese labor in the International Labor Organization. While the Bolshevik influence split Japanese labor into right and left factions, and the post-war depression induced lock-outs and strikes, the government has been on the alert, and the natural conservatism of the people has maintained the leadership of the moderate laborites in the proletarian struggle. At the end of 1928 there were 501 labor unions containing 296,890 male and 12,010 female members in a proletarian population of 3,291,168 male and 1,533,612 female workers. There were 41 labor federations, the most influential though not the largest being the General Federation of Labor (*Ninon Rodo Sodomei*), with 31,209 members. There were also 4,353 farmers' unions with 330,406 members in a farming population of 3,800,000 families. Cooperative

societies of farmers numbered 14,000, with a membership of 3,500,000, and there were 147 consumers' cooperative societies with 125,188 members. In 1922 the *eta*, long socially ostracized though now by law equal with other subjects, organized the *Suiheisha* ("water-level society") to assist their struggle for actual equality.

With the advent of factories, rapid transport and department stores, women have emerged from the home to become tenders of machines, ticket sellers, bus conductors, vendors of newspapers and lunches, clerks, ushers and typists. The latest statistics report 8,167,000 women

breadwinners, as against 7,803,000 men. (Japan Year Book, 1930, p. 202.) Happily the kimono was not discarded unless necessary for a pseudo-Western costume, but the high coiffure gave place to one more businesslike and no less suited to Japanese facial contours.

Japanese women are beginning to deal with social issues that affect them. Birth control clinics have been set up without interference and their advice is being eagerly sought. The movement against the system of licensed prostitution—probably the best organized and most powerful system in the world—grows in strength, although at present it is retarded by the revulsion in Japan against the lax morals of Western countries.

The Japanese now speak of the *mobo* and the *moga*—the "modern boys" and the "modern girls." Their rendezvous are the new dance halls, bars and cafés,

movies or parks. Their clothes are emphatically Occidental; they wear sideburns and bobs, respectively. They enjoy a status of semi-respectability, but their number as yet is small. In Osaka, largest city of Japan, the City Fathers, prompted by the geisha, drove out the dance halls as centres of iniquity, but in Tokyo, Yokohama and other up-to-date places they are tolerated. The hundreds of tiny bars, dispensing, to raucous radio music, saki, cocktails, German beer and Scotch whisky, and providing a smiling waitress for every table, appear to attract the medieval as well as the modern boy.

The new forms of amusement appear to be supplementing rather than driving out the old. The geisha, who continue enormously popular and receive very high fees, have responded to the Occidental trends by developing vaudeville troupes with as varied a program as may be found in American theatres. Contemporary Japanese are, however, far more interested in Kabuki drama, plays and films founded upon feudal society than in Western importations and Japanese efforts to imitate them.

Japanese youth is reading. Newspapers are cheap and quickly read; books are cheap and numerous. Translations of foreign books such as Upton Sinclair's *The Brass Check* and Judge Lindsey's *Companionate Marriage* sell by the hundreds of thousands. Marxian socialism is a favorite topic of discussion.

Elementary education, covering six years, is compulsory for all children and is actually enforced. In 1926 of 9,312,517 children legally compelled to attend school 99.43 per cent were present. The increase in school population, averaging about 200,000 a year for all schools, takes in the whole educational system, including the universities. As a result the present unemployment is seriously affecting the graduates of the higher institutions.

Recent educational developments include the preparation of films to teach etiquette and morals, the use of phonograph records for the teaching of English, the selection of books for school

libraries, the organization of student societies and the attempt to "control thought" along prescribed lines by lectures and institutes dealing with social problems. It is unfortunate that the authorities seek to direct the mental attitudes of school children instead of encouraging free consideration of all questions. The policy is inconsistent with the government's desire for modernization in political and economic methods and has been proved in Japan's own experience to be a stimulant of extremism.

The death of Marshal Prince Yamagata, founder of the *genro* or elder statesmen, president of the privy council and head of the Choshu "clan," which occurred on Feb. 1, 1922, signalized the passing of the era known as *hambatsu seifu* or clan government. Before the decline of Yamagata's influence the Choshu-Satsuma clan clique, through the war and naval Ministries and the general staffs, which enjoyed direct access to the Emperor, had dominated Cabinet decisions. After Yamagata's death although the military departments retained their legal prerogatives they exerted continually lessening influence. This fundamental change in the political system has chiefly emerged since the Treaty of Versailles though prepared for by two generations of effort by political societies, parties and members of Parliament. The present tug-of-war between Premier Hamaguchi and his Cabinet and the naval staff board over acceptance of the London naval treaty, is the most recent phase of the long struggle for civilian control of policy. The development of representative institutions has been gradual and the apparent advances are qualified by the rise of new forms of control of a character less aggressive but no less self-interested than those of the fast-disappearing survivors of the feudal ages.

Takashi Hara, who formed a Seiyukai Cabinet in 1918, was the first commoner to attain the Premiership; a second, Reijiro Wakatsuki, (*Kenseikai*), was Premier in 1926-7 and a third, Takayuki Hamaguchi (*Minseito*), now occupies

the Premiership. Since 1918 the Seiyukai, generally regarded as the more conservative of the two major parties, has been in power five years, the Kenseikai (now Minseito), four, non-party Ministries three.

The most obvious change in Japanese politics was the promulgation, on May 5, 1925, of a statute, now spoken of as the manhood suffrage act, abolishing the tax qualification for the suffrage and granting the vote to all male subjects twenty-five years of age or older except paupers, vagabonds, active members of the army and navy, certain classes of civil officials and the heads of noble houses. An act of 1919 raised the electorate from 1,000,000 to 3,000,000; the new law raised it to 12,500,000. Women remained unenfranchised; and in the special session of this year a bill granting the suffrage to women in local elections, passed by the House of Representatives, was shelved in the House of Peers.

In the general elections of 1928 and 1930, the polls were very large, more than 80 per cent of the electorate. The votes were divided principally between the conservative Seiyukai and the Minseito. The government party entered the 1930 election with a Parliamentary minority but emerged with a large majority, to which victory the press contributed. In both contests bribery played a significant part. The great business houses of Mitsui and Mitsubishi were associated popularly with the Seiyukai and Minseito respectively in the provision of election funds, and other corporations contributed to one or both of the major party war-chests.

The relationship of "big business" to political parties and to government has become more intimate with the transition to modernism. A few families exercise a dominating influence in Japan's economic life. Such houses as the Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Yasuda and Okura are gigantic vertical trusts whose activities run through all production and distribution. Marriages joining the interests of these great merchant houses with the older noble families, have brought leading officials and members

of the Privy Council into direct touch with the sources of national wealth. As a result the present collaboration between the older aristocracy of blood and the newer aristocracy of wealth is in control of governmental policy. Although the Seiyukai is stronger in the country districts, the Minseito in the cities, the former is no longer merely a landowners' party while the latter controls many rural electorates in the south and west.

Proletarian representation in the lower house of the Diet began in 1928 when eight members were elected by 492,177 voters. Seven labor parties presented 88 candidates. In the 1930 election, a landslide for the Minseito, only 5 out of 96 candidates were successful, although the votes for all proletarian parties totaled 502,313. Leadership, co-operation and funds are at a premium in labor politics. While sympathy for a real liberalism is more general in Japan than labor-party membership would suggest, the so-called liberals and independents have disappointed their supporters by truckling to wealthy men, corporations and the older parties for campaign funds. There is little evidence that an era of liberalism is about to dawn. The tendency to confuse liberalism with ultra-radicalism, to brand a critic of the status quo as a Communist is characteristic of Japan.

Emperor Hirohito, now 29 years of age, ascended the throne in 1926, and has assumed the customary rôle of the imperial office, that of self-effacing devotion to the country's welfare, acceptance of the elder statesmen's counsel, maintenance of traditions. He has traveled in foreign lands and is alert to foreign thought. While the reverence of the people for the royal family appears undiminished there is a noticeable change in it; the god of antiquity and the feudal ages, mysteriously veiled from human eyes, has become flesh and blood like his people. In so doing he has not lowered himself but exalted them. A marked intensification of interest in Shinto, Japan's native religion, represents the intellectual response of this phenomenon.

In foreign affairs the decade under review began with a movement in China against Japan, including the designation of a "National Humiliation Day" to mark the transfer to Japan of Germany's rights in Shantung. A commercial treaty drawn up May 20, 1930, on terms of equality, in which Japan recognized the complete control of China over her customs tariffs, ended the movement. In the interim, 1922, Japan returned the Shantung leases to China upon terms of justice; she withdrew the menacing fifth group of the "Twenty-one Demands." She refrained from insisting, at the certain price of bloodshed, on rights of residence and property included in the Manchurian group of the "Demands." She contented herself with diplomatic protests, which proved unavailing, against the building of railways in Manchuria parallel to the South Manchuria Railway, protests which sounded hollow in the presence of the fact that a number of parallel lines had been built previously under contracts with the South Manchurian Company.

Baron Kijuro Shidehara, who became Foreign Minister in 1924, through his career of thirty years in the foreign service, is closely identified with its development into the excellent organization it is today. The revolution in Japan's policy toward China which distinguishes the post-war period is mainly due to Baron Shidehara. That revolution has been a transfer of interests from territorial acquisition to economic development and of emphasis from force to persuasion, from military to diplomatic methods. A return to interventionism during Baron Tanaka's régime as Premier and Foreign Minister, April, 1927-July, 1929, had disastrous consequences for Japan and the Tanaka Government. Under Shidehara again relations with China have improved and with them the confidence of other powers in Japan's purpose.

Japan and the United States during the last twelve years have worked to establish their relations upon mutually satisfactory bases. Their trade is an anchor which neither would willingly

cut loose. Unfortunately, relations with China, immigration and navalism have somewhat interfered. On the first point the new financial consortium proposed by the American Government in 1918 for the pooling of all publicly issued loans to Chinese governmental agencies and entered into by this country, Great Britain, France and Japan, put an end to reckless borrowing without actually interfering with Japan's investments in Manchuria. The ill-feeling provoked by the Shantung clauses of the Treaty of Versailles was dispelled at the Washington conference.

The era of good feeling begun was harshly interrupted by the exclusion clauses of the American Immigration act of 1924. The Japanese people were shocked by the act. The government, while protesting, took the attitude that time would bring the American people to a voluntary reconsideration. The loss of confidence sustained by the Japanese both in America and in themselves prevented the re-establishment of public and private relations upon a truly friendly basis.

Naval rivalry was not ended by the Washington conference, which transferred it to non-limited classes of vessels, nor by the "Coolidge" conference at Geneva in 1927. If the London treaty of 1930 is ratified it will postpone the settlement of the main issues, not dispose of them. Sentiment in Japan during the London conference was critical of the high tonnage parity agreed upon by the United States and Great Britain, of the fact of a prior agreement between those countries and of the opposition to Japan's demand for 70 per cent in large cruisers and for a total tonnage in submarines such as she should deem necessary.

Japan parted reluctantly with her twenty-year-old alliance with Great Britain in 1922. The Lansing-Ishii agreement was terminated by agreement in 1923. The four-power pact (1922) for consultation concerning Pacific issues, the Kellogg pact and the covenant of the League of Nations have substituted for alliances and bilateral agreements susceptible of use

by individual powers for purposes of aggression a régime of international cooperation in Pacific relations. But Japan apparently desires recognition of her leadership in the Western Pacific.

Japan has maintained her special position with respect to Manchuria. Forced out of that rich area, after victory over China in 1895, by a three-power intervention, established there in 1905 by her defeat of Russia, confirmed in her rights by the Twenty-One Demands of 1915 which extended her leases from twenty-five to ninety-nine years, Japan has invested \$1,000,000 in Manchuria. There is little migration to Manchuria, but strategic, economic and social considerations have determined the Japanese to remain in Manchuria at all costs.

With the success of the Chinese Nationalists in 1927-28, Japan threatened to interfere if the Nationalists should attempt to enter any of the three eastern provinces composing Manchuria. Japan's statements amounted to an assertion of a protectorate which the Chinese Government repudiated. The discussion provoked caused the Japanese Government to authorize Count Uchida to assure the American Government that it had no intention of annexing South Manchuria. A few months previously protests from various officials and private bodies in China prevented the South Manchuria Railway Company from obtaining a loan of \$30,000,000 gold from J. P. Morgan & Co. of New York.

The latest phase in the diplomacy of Japan and the United States affecting China is the cordial note struck by William R. Castle, special Ambassador to Japan during the London naval conference. Mr. Castle likened Japan's position in Asia to that of the United States in the Americas, deprecated American suspicions, and referred to Japan as a stabilizing force, a useful middleman, a protector of foreign interests.

Japan and Russia revived diplomatic relations in 1925 after Japan had withdrawn her forces from Russian soil. During the crucial period of the attempted seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway by Chinese forces in 1929 Japan's Foreign Minister, Baron Shidehara, offered his good offices and aided in composing the crisis.

Japan is a charter member of the League of Nations, occupying a permanent seat in the council. She is the ruler of a mandate composed of Germany's former island possessions in the Pacific north of the Equator. Her influence in international councils is not confined to Asia, but she believes that the complement of her recognition of key States in other parts of the world should be their recognition of a similar position for herself in Asia.

The record of the post-war period is one of which Japan may well be proud. Her working out of a modern State and of modern programs in domestic and foreign policy, is a real and permanent accomplishment. It is time to stop patronizing Japan. Specifically, it is time that the Congress of the United States reconsider the exclusion clauses of the immigration act.

Japan's recent progress in science and democracy increases rather than lessens the danger to international peace. This is the inevitable accompaniment of the industrial revolution. Japan continuing in her present course of applying the methods of internationalism to a highly realistic program, can accomplish her main objectives only by establishing herself in the confidence of China, the United States and Great Britain. Concretely she must assure those countries that her leadership in Asia does not involve the closing of the door of equal opportunity nor the stultification of China's efforts at reorganization. To the writer Japan seems well on the road toward the status she desires and deserves.

CURRENT HISTORY IN CARTOONS



ANXIETY IN THE BRITISH HEAVEN

The Queen: "Edward, just take a look down there and see whether I'm still Empress of India"

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin



**THE BOOK
OF THE
MONTH**

"A million
copies, Sir?
Certainly,
Sir. Excel-
lent reading,
Sir."

"Oh, I don't
want them
to read,—
just to
throw at
policemen"

—Glasgow Eve.
Times



**GANDHI
IN
PRISON**
—Kladder-
datsch, Berlin



Mars: "After all the sloppy peace talk, this is a positive inspiration"

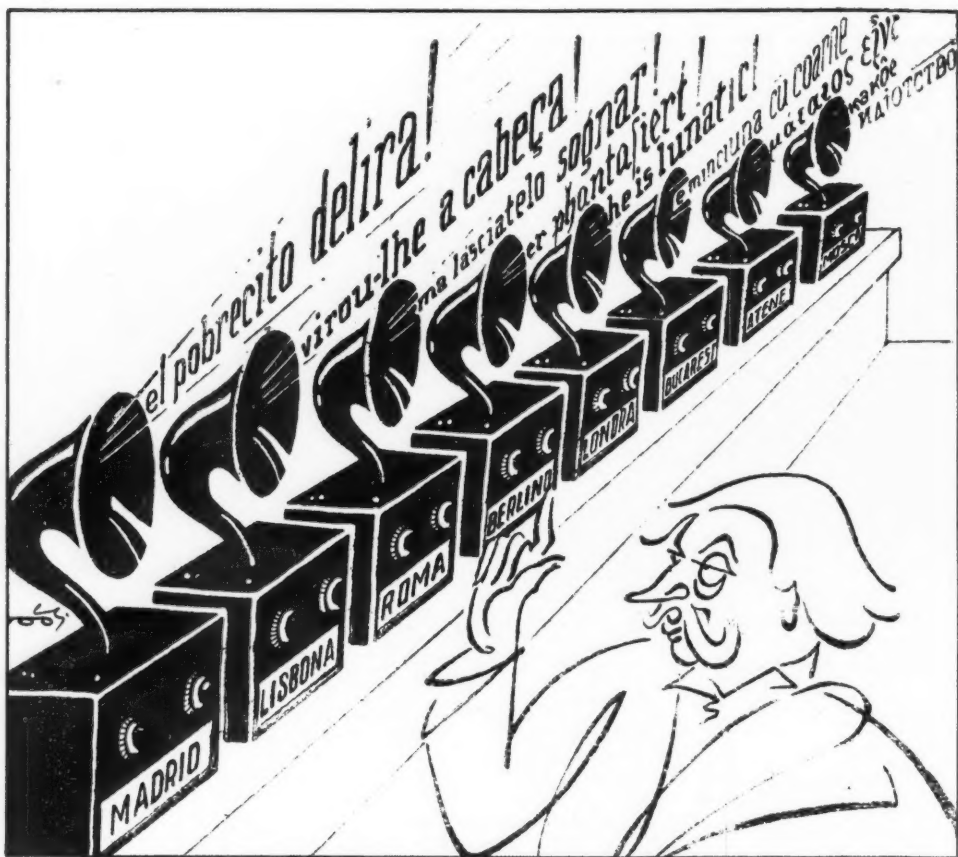
—Glasgow Eve. Times



RURIMANIA

Ex-King Michael (fixing the crown on his father's head): "Take it, Papa, and try to be worthy of your son"

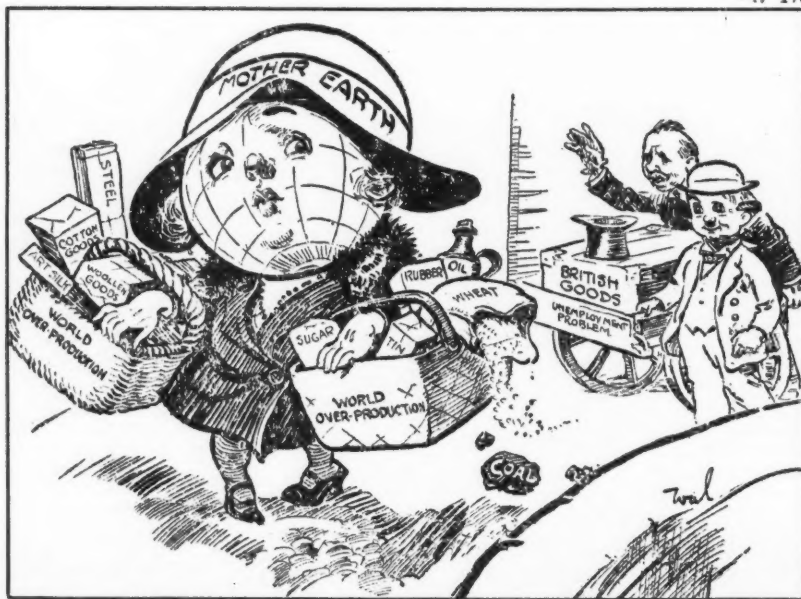
Punch, London



THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

M. Briand: "They're all united, at least, in calling me a silly fool"

—Il Travaso, Rome



THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

"There must be a way round her, if we could only find it"

—News of the World, London



THE WORLD BANK
England and France in the jar
—Izvestia, Moscow



AMERICAN TARIFF POLICY
"A mighty fortress is our gold"
—Nebelspalter, Zurich

**M. BRIAND AS
PAN**

What means this
piping? To
those who hear
it can mean only
pan-icky fear
—Kladderadatsch,
Berlin





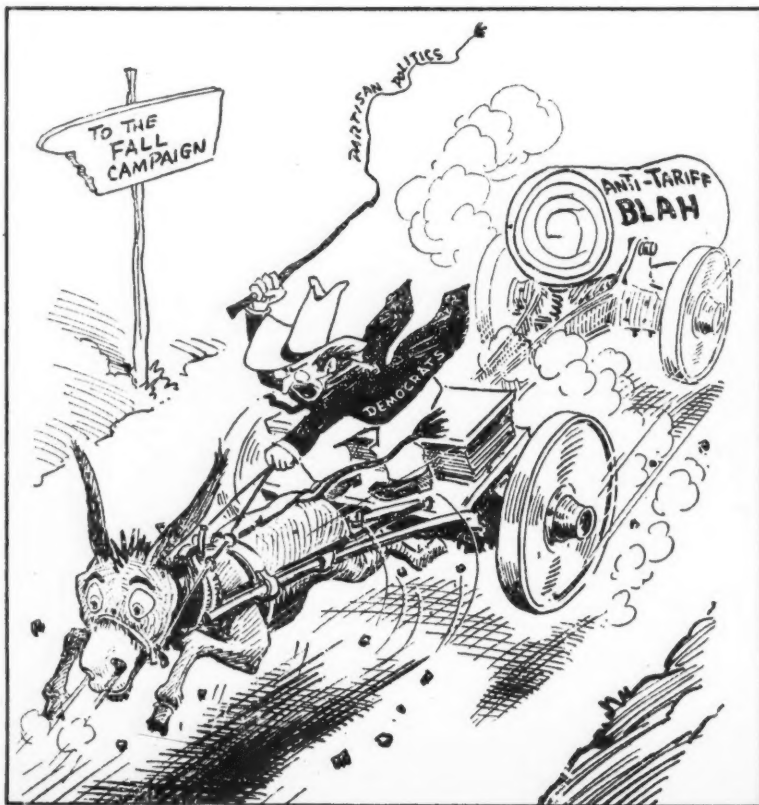
THE BATHING SUIT CENSORS

—New York Herald Tribune.



BRICKS AND BOUQUETS

—Dallas Morning News



SWINGING
INTO
ACTION

—Public Ledger,
Philadelphia

Soviet Russia's Claims Against the United States

By FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

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This article was written in reply to an unsigned contribution in April *CURRENT HISTORY* on American intervention in Russia in 1918, explaining the policy of the United States Government. The writer of that article, whose identity cannot be disclosed, maintained that Russia had no just grievance as a result of the American expedition and can in consequence make no claims for damages against the United States. Professor Schuman is the author of *American Policy Toward Russia Since 1917*, a book in which he devotes special attention to the events of 1918-19 and America's subsequent official attitude, referring particularly to Secretary of State Colby's note of Aug. 10, 1920. To enable the reader to understand precisely the American attitude at that time, which has been endorsed and consistently followed by all succeeding Secretaries of State, the text of that document is subjoined.

THE AMERICAN military intervention in Russia in 1918-19 constitutes an important element in the past and present relations of the Soviet Union with the intervening powers, and moreover furnishes the basis for a bill of damages which the Soviet Government has compiled for future presentation to the United States for payment.

The Soviet position was first stated definitely by George Chicherin, commissar for foreign affairs, at the Genoa Conference of April, 1922, in connection with the financial claims of the other States against Russia, totaling some \$13,000,000,000:

The British Premier tells me that if my neighbor has lent me money, I must pay him back. Well, I agree, in that particular case, in a desire for conciliation; but I must add that if my neighbor has broken into my house, killed my children, destroyed my furniture, and burnt my house, he must at least begin by restoring to me what he has destroyed.

Chicherin contended that the governments which had sent troops and munitions to Russia in the civil war period

had thereby committed an act of illegal intervention and should be held responsible for the resulting damages. He calculated that the bill totaled about \$60,000,000,000, consisting of direct property damages, \$6,106,580,000; indirect internal losses and pensions, \$5,635,745,000; losses in foreign trade or through reduced industrial and agricultural production, \$7,780,110,000; and the balance in other unspecified indirect losses. The other States refused to admit the validity of any portion of these counter-claims. On May 11, 1922, Chicherin announced, as his last word, that the Russian delegation "declared itself ready to accept liability for the payment of (pre-war) public debts; provided that the damages caused to Russia by the allied intervention and blockade be recognized." No agreement could be reached and the conference broke up in failure. In the subsequent negotiations with individual States, after the general diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Government in 1924, the deadlock on this point remained unbroken. The Soviet Union has

in no instance undertaken to pay the debts of the Kerensky and Czarist régimes without this condition. The former allied governments have in no instance recognized any obligation on their own part to indemnify the Soviet Union for the losses arising from the intervention.

The United States was not represented at the Genoa Conference, and has withheld diplomatic recognition from the Soviet Government on the ground that it is not the type of régime with which it is possible to maintain normal relations. In support of this contention, the State Department cites the Soviet's repudiation of Russia's debts, its confiscation of foreign property and its encouragement of revolutionary propaganda abroad.

The American Government has never admitted that its own financial claims against Russia are a suitable subject for negotiations. These comprise, without interest, the \$189,729,750 advanced in war loans to the Provisional Government in 1917; the \$86,000,000 in Czarist bonds held by American citizens, and the somewhat uncertain sum, estimated at \$300,000,000, representing losses arising out of destruction or confiscation of property of American citizens in Russia. The American Government has also never admitted any financial obligation toward Russia arising from the intervention. The present Administration still adheres to the position stated by Secretary of State Hughes on Dec. 18, 1923:

If the Soviet authorities are ready to restore the confiscated property of American citizens or make effective compensation, they can do so. If the Soviet authorities are ready to repeal their decree repudiating Russia's obligations to this country and appropriately recognize them, they can do so. It requires no conference or negotiations to accomplish these results, which can and should be achieved at Moscow as evidence of good faith. The American Government has not incurred liabilities to Russia or repudiated obligations.

Has the Soviet Union a legitimate bill for damages against the United States? Upon the answer to this question depends, in part at least, the

cogency of the reasons which the State Department has advanced for withholding recognition and the future course of our relations, if and when recognition is extended.

The answer to this question rests upon two further questions: (1) Was the United States a party to the allied intervention? (2) Was the intervention an unjustifiable violation of the rights of Russia under international law which obliges the governments responsible to indemnify Russia for the losses arising from their illegal action?

The first question is answered by the fact that the sending of allied military forces to Russia in the Summer of 1918 was undertaken at the express invitation of the United States, although the original suggestions which came from Great Britain, France and Japan were for more than half a year opposed by President Wilson.

An American proposal for limited intervention was addressed to the British, French and Italian Governments, on July 17, 1918, after its transmission to Japan and an understanding was reached by exchanges of notes. This was followed on Aug. 3, 1918, with the issue by Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State, of a public announcement written by President Wilson, in which it was said that military action in Russia would be undertaken only to help the Czechoslovak legion and "to steady any efforts at self-government or self-defense in which the Russians themselves may be willing to accept assistance." American troops were to be used only to guard military stores from the Germans and to aid Russian efforts at "self-defense." All this, it was asserted, "in the most public and solemn manner" did not contemplate any interference or intervention in Russian internal affairs or any impairment of Russian territorial integrity.

In practice intervention led to precisely what was disclaimed. "Self-government" meant the overthrow of Soviet power wherever the allied and American forces established control.

"Self-defense" meant encouragement to the Russian people to repudiate the peace with Germany and the Soviet régime which had concluded it. "Guarding military stores" meant the invasion of Russian territory and the waging of unofficial war on the Soviet Government. "Protection and help to the Czechoslovaks" meant turning over Siberia to the mercies of Kolchak, the White Dictator, and financing his campaign against the Reds. At Archangel 4,500 American troops cooperated with 6,000 British, 1,500 French and other smaller contingents in advancing some 200 miles southward and fighting against the Red Army. In Siberia 7,000 American soldiers, under General Graves, sought to guard the railway to Kolchak's rear in order to facilitate the shipment of munitions to his army by the United States. As between warring Red and White partisans the Siberian Expedition sought, paradoxically, to maintain a semblance of neutrality while Japan, contrary to the original understanding, poured 73,000 troops into the Maritime Provinces. The United States participated in the blockade to the extent of forbidding all trade with territory under Bolshevik control from February, 1919, to July, 1920. From September, 1918, to June, 1919, American forces in North Russia fought the Soviet troops, losing 244 killed and 305 wounded. From September, 1918, to April, 1920, American forces in Siberia guarded the railway, fought off bands of anti-Kolchak partisans, and helped make the territory a base of hostile operations against Moscow.

These activities, from the Soviet point of view, constituted military intervention in Russia by the United States. A policy which was begun as part of the war against Germany was continued for a year and a half after the armistice for the apparent purpose of bringing about the overthrow of the Soviet Government. Its stated objectives were forgotten in what seemed to be an effort to destroy Bolshevism by invasion and blockade and by subsidizing and assisting the White

Armies. Civil war in Russia was instigated and prolonged, with untold suffering, death and destruction to the Russian people. The outcome of intervention was miserable and ignominious failure. The Red Army drove out the Archangel invaders, captured and executed Kolchak, crushed the White Armies, broke the blockade and saved the proletarian revolution from what apparently were the efforts of allied and American Governments to drown it in blood. For the Soviet authorities there can be no question of the fact of intervention nor of the United States sharing to the full in its consequences.

Every act of intervention is by definition such a gross violation of the rights of the victim State that it can be justified only by extraordinary circumstances. If not so justified, the State which has suffered has a legitimate claim for damages. The circumstances which justify intervention were clearly stated by Secretary of State Webster in 1838 when Canadian forces had entered American territory to break up a rebel expedition which was about to recross the Niagara River. The United States then called upon the British Government to pay damages or

to show a necessity of self-defense, instant, overwhelming, leaving no choice of means, and no moment for deliberation. It will be for it to show also that the local authorities of Canada, even supposing the necessity of the moment authorized them to enter the territories of the United States at all, did nothing unreasonable or excessive, since the necessity of self-defense must be limited by that necessity and kept clearly within it.

This principle has been generally accepted by the great powers as part of international law, and intervention undertaken for any purpose other than to meet an instant and overwhelming necessity of self-defense has been regarded as legally unjustifiable.

Did the United States and the Allies act in Russia in 1918 under such a necessity? It seems probable that few defenders of the intervention, even in the State Department, would answer this question, put in these terms, affirmatively. The American Government

would of necessity put the question differently. It would, in the first place, dispute the legitimacy of referring to the policy of the United States as "intervention," pointing out that any intention of interfering in Russian internal affairs was expressly disclaimed, and that the military operations which followed were directed not against Russia nor even against the Soviet Government, but against the Central Powers. These contentions, judged by official declarations of policy are true but in the light of the facts summarized above they scarcely seem so. It is difficult for the objective observer to escape the conclusion that the facts, apart from the declarations, did in reality constitute intervention as it is usually defined, namely, "interference by a State or States in the external affairs of another State without its consent, or in its internal affairs with or without its consent." (H. G. Hodges, *The Doctrine of Intervention*).

On the other hand, the United States can argue that intervention, even if admitted, was justified by the peculiar circumstances of the situation without reference to any necessity of self-defense. In the practice of States there has been intervention on other grounds such as to protect citizens abroad, to collect debts, to maintain international law, to terminate an unlawful intervention by a third State and the like. Intervention on these grounds is a high act of policy which, if successful, may not expose the intervening State to claims for damages. It might be argued that the Russian case comes under one or another of these grounds and that, even from a legal point of view, intervention was thereby justified. Further, it might be urged from a general political point of view that American participation served to limit the scope of the intervention and, in design and results, helped to preserve the territorial integrity of Russia against designs of other powers.

The Soviet Union, however, like other great powers in similar circumstances, rests its case upon the general legal principle noted above. From this point

of view, which the Soviet Government is perfectly justified in taking, it is difficult to find any very persuasive argument to place the allied and American intervention within the category of acts justified by an instant and overwhelming necessity of self-defense. The withdrawal of Russia from the War by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March, 1918, cannot be regarded as such an immediate and overwhelming threat to the Allies as to justify intervention to nullify its results. The Soviet Government did not thereby become the ally of Germany but merely sought to restore Russia to a status of neutrality. And even a possible threat to the Allies did not justify the continuation of intervention in Russia for a year and a half after the armistice. Neither can it be plausibly contended that the revolutionary propaganda of the Bolsheviks justified the intervention. Such propaganda in 1918 was directed chiefly against the Central Powers and had at the outset received encouragement from the allied and American agents still in Russia. The later development of propaganda against all bourgeois States and the establishment of the Communist International in March, 1919, were in part a legitimate defense against intervention. In no respect did Soviet Russia in 1918 constitute such an instant, direct, immediate and overwhelming danger to the United States or to the Allies as to justify armed invasion, blockade and the promotion of civil war.

To the impartial student of international law, the Soviet Union's case against the United States appears to rest upon firmer ground than do American attempts to prove the intervention lawful. The amount of the valid counter-claims would have to be determined by the application of the principle of proximate causation. Only such proportion of the total losses included in Chicherin's imposing bill of 1922 as can be traced, directly or indirectly, to acts of the intervening governments would give rise to just claims for compensation. These claims, in the event of a settlement, would have to be

apportioned on some fair basis among the powers responsible. According to a statement made by Litvinov to the writer, the Soviet Union is willing to discuss the funding of the war debt to the United States without raising the question of counter-claims, since the so-called Kerensky debt constitutes but a small portion of Russia's total indebtedness. The counter-claims would be raised only in connection with the claims of private American citizens for payment on the Czarist bonds and for nationalized property.

The Soviet Government is at present interested in American recognition not as a means of inaugurating discussions of financial claims, but because of its bearing on commercial relations which have been developing steadily during the past five years. During the Soviet fiscal year 1927-1928, the Amtorg and other trading agencies in the United States purchased \$91,231,048 worth of American products. In 1928-1929 the figure reached \$107,651,115, while the sales of Soviet products in the United States amounted to \$30,749,044, that is, 37 per cent above the previous year. The total American imports from and exports to Russia for the calendar year 1929, amounted to about \$155,000,000. For the first three months of 1930 United States exports to Russia were \$44,160,146, as compared to \$12,248,146 for the same period in 1929. Soviet purchases from the United States fell off 75 per cent in May as compared to January as a result of the resumption of diplomatic relations between Soviet Russia and Great Britain. Soviet imports from the United States for May and January, respectively, were \$3,098,000 and \$12,420,000, according to a Washington dispatch of July 1. Trade with Great Britain in the six months beginning Oct. 1, 1929, was \$44,163,000, as against \$19,746,000 in the same period of the previous year.

The demands which the Soviet five-year plan makes upon American machinery, goods and cotton have seemed to insure a steady development of

this substantial commerce. The Soviet contention is that this development would be facilitated and accelerated by diplomatic recognition, involving, as it would, an interchange of consular representatives, the granting of legal status to the Soviet Government in American courts, the removal of obstacles in the way of the shipment of Soviet gold to the United States, and a general regularization of navigation and export and import operations. The State Department professes to believe that these factors would have little influence on trade, which has grown to imposing proportions despite the difficulties due to the lack of diplomatic relations.

Here again the Soviet contentions have much weight. That profitable trade relations have developed despite the anomalous situation of a prolonged suspension of normal diplomatic contacts is scarcely a valid argument for a continuation of non-recognition nor a proof that more extensive commerce would not follow recognition. Here, as in the case of the counter-claims, an effort to understand the Soviet position will be more likely to lead to a clarification of the issue than adherence to the "holier-than-thou" attitude toward Russia which the State Department has maintained for the past thirteen years.

[Stalin, in his address reviewing Soviet progress and policy at the Communist convention in Moscow on June 27, made the following reference to the subject discussed in the article above: "We are prepared to pay a small part of the pre-war debts in return for credits, regarding the payments as supplementary interest on the credits. If they ask more than this, we will not give it, because we refuse to accept obligations contracted by the Czarist Government. They talk about international law. What international law justified Rumania's grabbing Bessarabia or the American, French, British and Japanese intervention and invasion of Russian territory?"]

Text of American Note Refusing to Recognize Soviet Russia

Professor Schuman's scholarly summary of the American policy toward the Soviet Government diverges to some extent from the position of the United States as expressed in a notable document issued in 1920 by Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby in reply to an inquiry by the Italian Ambassador in Washington as to our attitude upon the Russian-Polish conflict. In his reply Secretary Colby not only stated the position of the United States on the conflict in question, but dealt in detail with our policy toward the Bolshevik régime. It is a masterly, vigorous, candid statement, and is pronounced by John Spargo, his biographer, as "now universally recognized as one of the most important diplomatic documents of the post-war period, and one of the great outstanding landmarks in the development of American policy." It produced a profound sensation throughout the world, and today is recognized as one of the ablest, clearest and most constructive declarations ever penned by an American Secretary of State. It charted the course which was consistently followed by Secretaries Hughes, Kellogg and Stimson, who, in turn, succeeded Mr. Colby. A few months ago Viscount Brentford, formerly British Home Secretary, referred to the note as a declaration "of precision and courage" and chided the MacDonald Government for failure to rise to the heights of statesmanship as expressed in that famous document.—Editor CURRENT HISTORY.

NOTE OF SECRETARY OF STATE COLBY TO THE
ITALIAN AMBASSADOR, AUG. 10, 1920.

(Department of State, *Notes Exchanged on the Russian-Polish Situation by the United States, France and Poland*, International Conciliation Pamphlets, October, 1920, No. 155, pp. 5-11.)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON,
Aug. 10, 1920.

Excellency:

The agreeable intimation which you have conveyed to the State Department, that the Italian Government would welcome a statement of the views of this Government on the situation presented by the Russian advance into Poland, deserves a prompt response, and I will attempt without delay a definition of this Government's position not only as to the situation arising from Russian military pressure upon Poland but also as to certain cognate and inseparable phases of the Russian question viewed more broadly.

This Government believes in a united, free and autonomous Polish State, and the people of the United States are earnestly solicitous for the maintenance of Poland's political independence and territorial integrity. From this attitude we will not depart, and the policy of this Government will be directed to the employment of all available means to render it effectual.

The Government, therefore, takes no exception to the effort apparently being made in some quarters to arrange an armistice between Poland and Russia, but it would not, at least for the present, participate in any plan for the expansion of the armistice negotiations into a general European conference, which would in all probability involve two results, from both of which this country strongly recoils, viz., the rec-

ognition of the Bolshevik régime and a settlement of the Russian problem almost inevitably upon the basis of a dismemberment of Russia.

From the beginning of the Russian Revolution, in March, 1917, to the present moment the Government and the people of the United States have followed its development with friendly solicitude and with profound sympathy for the efforts of the Russian people to reconstruct their national life upon the broad basis of popular self-government. The Government of the United States, reflecting the spirit of its people, has at all times desired to help the Russian people. In that spirit all its relations with Russia and with other nations in matters affecting the latter's interests have been conceived and governed.

The Government of the United States was the first Government to acknowledge the validity of the revolution and to give recognition of the Provisional Government of Russia. Almost immediately thereafter it became necessary for the United States to enter the war against Germany, and in that undertaking to become closely associated with the allied nations, including, of course, Russia. The war weariness of the masses of the Russian people was fully known to this Government and sympathetically comprehended. Prudence, self-interest and loyalty to our associates made it desirable that we should give moral and material support to the Provisional Government, which was struggling to accomplish a twofold task—to carry on the war with vigor and, at the same time, to reorganize the life of the nation and establish a stable government based on popular sovereignty.

Quite independent of these motives, however, was the sincere friendship of the Government and the people of the United

States for the great Russian nation. The friendship manifested by Russia toward this nation in a time of trial and distress has left with us an imperishable sense of gratitude. It was as a grateful friend that we sent to Russia an expert commission to aid in bringing about such a reorganization of the railroad transportation system of the country as would reinvigorate the whole of its economic life and so add to the well-being of the Russian people.

While deeply regretting the withdrawal of Russia from the war at a critical time, and the disastrous surrender at Brest-Litovsk, the United States has fully understood that the people of Russia were in nowise responsible.

The United States maintains unimpaired its faith in the Russian people, in their high character and their future. That they will overcome the existing anarchy, suffering and destitution we do not entertain the slightest doubt. The distressing character of Russia's transition has many historical parallels, and the United States is confident that restored, free and united Russia will again take a leading place in the world, joining with the other free nations in upholding peace and orderly justice.

Until that time shall arrive the United States feels that friendship and honor require that Russia's interests must be generously protected, and that, as far as possible, all decisions of vital importance to it, and especially those concerning its sovereignty over the territory of the former Russian Empire, be held in abeyance. By this feeling of friendship and honorable obligation to the great nation whose brave and heroic self-sacrifice contributed so much to the successful termination of the war the Government of the United States was guided in its reply to the Lithuanian National Council, on Oct. 15, 1919, and in its persistent refusal to recognize the Baltic States as separate nations independent of Russia. The same spirit was manifested in the note of this Government of March 24, 1920, in which it was stated, with reference to certain proposed settlements in the Near East, that no final decision should or can be made without the consent of Russia.

In line with these important declarations of policy the United States withheld its approval from the decision of the Supreme Council at Paris recognizing the independence of the so-called Republics of Georgia and Azerbaijan, and so instructed its representative in Southern Russia, Rear Admiral Newton A. McCully.

Finally, while gladly giving recognition to the independence of Armenia, the Government of the United States has taken the position that final determination of its boundaries must not be made without Russia's cooperation and agreement. Not only is Russia concerned because a considerable part of the territory of the new State of

Armenia, when it shall be defined, formerly belonged to the Russian Empire; equally important is the fact that Armenia must have the good-will and protective friendship of Russia if it is to remain independent and free.

These illustrations show with what consistency the Government of the United States has been guided in its foreign policy by a loyal friendship for Russia. We are unwilling that while it is helpless in the grip of a non-representative Government, whose only sanction is brutal force, Russia shall be weakened still further by a policy of dismemberment conceived in other than Russian interests.

With the desire of the allied powers to bring about a peaceful solution of the existing difficulties in Europe this Government is, of course, in hearty accord, and will support any justifiable steps to that end. It is unable to perceive, however, that a recognition of the Soviet régime would promote, much less accomplish, this object, and it is therefore adverse to any dealings with the Soviet régime beyond the most narrow boundaries to which a discussion of an armistice can be confined.

That the present rulers of Russia do not rule by the will or the consent of any considerable proportion of the Russian people is an incontestable fact. Although nearly two and one-half years have passed since they seized the machinery of government, promising to protect the Constituent Assembly against alleged conspiracies against it, they have not yet permitted anything in the way of a popular election. At the moment when the work of creating a popular representative government, based upon universal suffrage, was nearing completion, the Bolsheviks, although in number an inconsiderable minority of the people, by force and cunning seized the powers and machinery of government, and have continued to use them with savage oppression to maintain themselves in power.

Without any desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the Russian people or to suggest what kind of government they should have, the Government of the United States does express the hope that they will soon find a way to set up a government representing their free will and purpose. When that time comes, the United States will consider the measures of practical assistance which can be taken to promote the restoration of Russia, provided Russia has not taken itself wholly out of the pale of the friendly interest of other nations by the pillage and oppression of the Poles.

It is not possible for the Government of the United States to recognize the present rulers of Russia as a government with which the relations common to friendly Governments can be maintained. This conviction has nothing to do with any particular political or social structure which the Russian people themselves may see fit to embrace. It rests upon a wholly differ-

ent set of facts. These facts, which none disputes, have convinced the Government of the United States, against its will, that the existing régime in Russia is based upon the negation of every principle of honor and good faith and every usage and convention underlying the whole structure of international law—the negation, in short, of every principle upon which it is possible to base harmonious and trustful relations, whether of nations or of individuals.

The responsible leaders of the régime have frequently and openly boasted that they are willing to sign agreements and undertakings with foreign powers while not having the slightest intention of observing such undertakings or carrying out such agreements. This attitude of disregard of obligations voluntarily entered into they base upon the theory that no compact or agreement made with a non-Bolshevist Government can have any moral force for them. They have not only avowed this as a doctrine, but have exemplified it in practice.

Indeed, upon numerous occasions the responsible spokesmen of this power and its official agencies have declared that it is their understanding that the very existence of bolshevism in Russia, the maintenance of their own rule, depends, and must continue to depend, upon the occurrence of revolutions in all other great civilized nations, including the United States, which will overthrow and destroy their Governments and set up Bolshevik rule in their stead. They have made it quite plain that they intend to use every means, including, of course, diplomatic agencies, to promote such revolutionary movements in other countries.

It is true that they have in various ways expressed their willingness to give "assurances" and "guarantees" that they will not abuse the privileges and immunities of diplomatic agencies by using them for this purpose. In view of their own declarations, already referred to, such assurances and guarantees cannot be very seriously considered.

Moreover, it is within the knowledge of the Government of the United States that the Bolshevik Government is itself subject to the control of a political faction with extensive international ramifications through the Third International, and that this body, which is heavily subsidized by the Bolshevik Government from the public revenues of Russia, has for its openly avowed aim the promotion of Bolshevik revolutions throughout the world. The leaders of the Bolsheviks have boasted that their promises of non-interference with other nations would in no way bind the agents of this body.

There is no room for reasonable doubt that such agents would receive the support and protection of any diplomatic agencies the Bolsheviks might have in other coun-

tries. Inevitably, therefore, the diplomatic service of the Bolshevik Government would become a channel for intrigues and the propaganda of revolt against the institutions and laws of countries with which it was at peace, which would be an abuse of friendship to which enlightened Governments cannot subject themselves.

In the view of this Government, there cannot be any common ground upon which it can stand with a power whose conceptions of international relations are so entirely alien to its own, so utterly repugnant to its moral sense. There can be no mutual confidence or trust, no respect even, if pledges are to be given and agreements made with a cynical repudiation of their obligations already in the minds of one of the parties. We cannot recognize, hold official relations with, or give friendly reception to the agents of a Government which is determined and bound to conspire against our institutions; whose diplomats will be the agitators of dangerous revolt; whose spokesmen say that they sign agreements with no intention of keeping them.

To summarize the position of this Government, I would say, therefore, in response to your Excellency's inquiry, that it would regard with satisfaction a declaration by the allied and associated powers that the territorial integrity and true boundaries of Russia shall be respected. These boundaries should properly include the whole of the former Russian Empire, with the exception of Finland proper, ethnic Poland, and such territory as may by agreement form a part of the Armenian State.

The aspirations of these nations are legitimate. Each was forcibly annexed and their liberation from oppressive alien rule involves no aggression against Russia's territorial rights and has received the sanction of the public opinion of all free peoples. Such a declaration presupposes the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory embraced by these boundaries, and in the opinion of this Government should be accompanied by the announcement that no transgression by Poland, Finland, or any other power, of the line so drawn will be permitted.

Thus only can the Bolshevik régime be deprived of its false but effective appeal to Russian nationalism and compelled to meet the inevitable challenge of reason and self-respect which the Russian people, secure from invasion and territorial violation, are sure to address to a social philosophy that degrades them and a tyranny that oppresses them.

The policy herein outlined will command the support of this Government.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

BAINBRIDGE COLBY.

His Excellency, Baron Cammillo Romano Avezzano, Ambassador of Italy.

Law as a Science

By JOSEPH S. AMES

PRESIDENT, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

THE RESOLUTION of the Board of Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University, which established the Institute of Law in June, 1928, stated in part that it was proposed to found "an institute devoted primarily to the scientific study of law. * * * The activities of the institute shall include not only a study of law in a narrow sense, but also a consideration of such branches of science and philosophy as may be necessary in order that the operation and effects of law in all its relations to human life may be effectively studied."

The university did not in any sense plan to duplicate or compete with the many existing law schools in the training of lawyers in the practice of their profession. The intent was rather to bring together a group of scholars who would study law much as man studies physical phenomena.

This purpose may be variously expressed as the study of law as it is and as it ought to be, the study of how law is administered and ought to be administered, the study of law in its whole social setting, the study of law as one instrument of social control, the study of the relationship of law as a field of knowledge to other fields of knowledge, the study of the human effects of law and its true significance in the human scene.

There is nothing new in the proposal to study law scientifically, in spite of much skepticism as to the possibility of obtaining practical results. If we seek the origin of the concept, we may well go back to Spinoza's profound thought that, had mathematics in the eyes of men the same kind of interest as politics, perhaps mankind would never have known what truth really is. Or, conversely, not until we look at social facts as dispassionately as we look at physical ones shall we discover scientific truth about them.

Early in the nineteenth century Jeremy Bentham, the father of the English utilitarian movement and the first legal genius of modern times, preached that the administration and legislation of law should be treated as a science, with a foundation as technical and complete as mathematics or natural philosophy. On such a foundation, he urged, should be reared a superstructure which would yield a harmonious system that, subjected to rigid analysis, would yet stand.

Influenced by the writings of Hume, Locke and Priestly, Bentham was one of the few men of his time who realized the possibilities of scientific thinking. A reformer before all else, he saw science not only improving the common lot of man, but also going to the heart of the question of man's relation to his fellow-men. Apparently he did not foresee that science, by making over the world in which man lived, would at the same time give rise to additional problems in proportion to the complexity of the civilization which it produced.

One result of the application of the new methods of science was the development by Professor Christopher Columbus Langdell during the last quarter of the nineteenth century of the "case" method of study at the Harvard Law School. This is recognized as initiating a new era of scientific scholarship in law. As a teaching method, the case method was a drill in reasoning rather than in observation. As a study method it sent students back to read the cases rather than to read what text writers had to say about cases. In other words, Langdell held that all the available material for the scientific study of law was to be found between the covers of books, or within the recorded statements of cases.

The enormous value of this method is not to be minimized, but it is a strik-



Harris & Ewing

JOSEPH S. AMES

ing fact that the outstanding development in the field of legal scholarship during the period following the Civil War—a period characterized by social changes amounting to an industrial and a commercial revolution and hence calling for a study of contemporary conditions—was a great revival in the study of early legal history.

In the light of the classical nineteenth century scientific thought, Langdell's concept of the scientific study of law as confined to case records was in keeping with the belief that the existing system of reasoning underlying scientific investigation could not be improved. Yet today a newer school of thought has appeared which recognizes the inadequacy of the old to solve problems arising in the complicated world of today.

In the United States the transformation in legal thought commenced before the World War, influenced largely through the vigorous writings of

Roscoe Pound and the opinions of Mr. Justice Holmes. It represents a change from the conception of the State as the central fact to one in which the individual is the primary concern. In other words, just as the primary concern of law in the Middle Ages was the proper ordering of one's religious life, and in the early modern period the building of a strong central government, so today it is the smooth dispatch of intricate business relations, the maintenance of property rights, and the protection of the individual in large and impersonal communities. To meet the requirements of this system of legal thought the swing is away from the statement of principles of law, to an examination of the function of law. It represents a change toward giving jurisprudence a sociological foundation.

Reasons for this trend are apparent. No matter how well-suited our legal and judicial institutions were to the America of a hundred or even fifty years ago, there are many evidences that they are failing to meet adequately the vastly different and more complicated conditions of today. Although we are without authoritative knowledge as to the extent of this failure, we are forced to the reluctant conclusion that there has come to be a lack of adjustment between the administration of law and the needs of our community—our national community.

During the period of our simpler social and industrial organization the judge and legislator through actual and intimate contact with the far less complex conditions under which they lived, were able to understand the needs of their day. Experience was a reasonably safe guide. But in a period of rapid change such as this country has experienced and is experiencing, industrial and social changes have been too swift for slowly forming custom.

Much of the existing system of social control is rooted in the conditions of a day when the whole aspect of society was of a dissimilar character; when the purposes, habits and contacts of individuals were quite different. The introduction of power machinery and

the onswEEP of the industrial age; the shifting of great masses of population from the rural districts to the cities; the change of occupations, habits, contacts and thoughts of individuals; the suddenly acquired mobility of both persons and ideas due to new inventions; the changing position of woman and the family; the concentration of governmental functions and the altered status of the individual—these but suggest the extraordinary economic and social changes of the last half century which have created corresponding problems in the field of law.

If it has done nothing else, the reform effort of the past has shown that in the highly evolved, complex order of today, experience is no longer sufficient. Individual conceptions of the effects of law or groups of law, resulting from personal contact and the complicated individual personality, cannot account for the effects of law on society as a whole. The new school of legal thought recognizes that only an objective study, pursued in the scientific manner of the research worker, can be expected to attain this result; and of necessity, such study involves a consideration of all relevant facts, no matter in what fields of human knowledge they fall.

It is natural to ask: How can the multiplicity of problems arising in law, changing almost daily, and reappearing in countless variations, be subjected to scientific study? Advocates of the scientific study of law have done little to answer this question, but developments in the other social sciences are such that much can be borrowed from their methods and techniques.

Like the other social sciences, scientific study of law is not so much the determining of cause and effect in an individual case as it is the verification of them in a large number of cases. While the legal scientist has neither the mechanical aids of the worker in the natural sciences nor his opportunity for a controlled experiment, he has the aid of mathematics in one of

its branches, namely, statistics, which supplies an instrument capable of making measurements inconceivable through any other method.

Thus the first problem which confronted the originating faculty of the Institute of Law was that of securing quantities of comparable, accurate data sufficiently large to permit scientific treatment. This led naturally to the decision to undertake a series of State-wide studies of judicial administration, not only for the purpose of securing large masses of dependable information, but with a view to laying the groundwork for a method of collecting an authoritative body of knowledge as to the actual working of the judicial machinery in a representative number of jurisdictions.

It has accordingly started, in conjunction with the judicial councils of Ohio and Maryland, and on their invitation, State-wide studies of the administration of justice, the purposes of which are to determine in detail the precise functioning of the judicial machine and the type and trend of social situations which it handles. Among its important objectives are:

1. To institute a permanent system of judicial statistics which will provide automatically information now secured only after great labor.
2. To develop an effective system of administrative control.
3. To learn reasons for delays, expense and uncertainty in litigation.
4. To study the trends in litigation and to ascertain its human causes and effects.
5. To study the functions and machinery of the various offices which have to do with the administration of law.

Work commenced in Ohio on Jan. 1 and is now well advanced, the use of court personnel obviating the employment of a corps of field workers which would normally be needed for a task of such large proportions. A preliminary survey has been recently completed in Maryland, and actual work commenced on July 1.

It is intended to undertake at least one and, if possible, three more studies to run concurrently with the Ohio and

Maryland surveys in order that a comparison of procedure in several States can be secured. Incidentally the Ohio and Maryland undertakings represent the first attempts to study the entire judicial machine of a State as a whole.

Another method of studying the law realistically and in terms of actual effects is through the lawyer's office. The Institute of Law has been working for more than a year with a group of lawyers in active practice in New York on a survey of litigation in that State. The object is to determine the amount of unnecessary slowness, cost and uncertainty in litigation, and their causes. It embraces such matters as the transactions involved in litigation; the personnel, including judges, lawyers, jurors and others employed in the processes of litigation; the organization of courts and the distribution of work among them; and the procedural rules and devices which are employed.

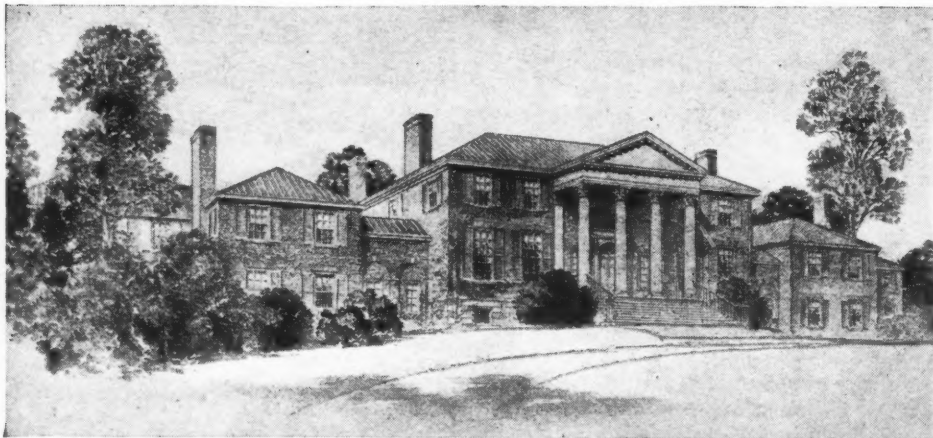
In addition to the limited and formal data to be found in public records, full and detailed information about how justice has actually worked in a large number of recent cases is being gathered from lawyers who handled those cases in the courts. It is upon an abundance of such detailed information as to actual cases rather than upon varying general opinions, that conclusions as to the extent and causes of the rem-

ediable defects in the administration of justice are to be reached.

As the work advances, the viewpoints of specialists in other social sciences which may be expected to make contributions will be sought. Study will be characterized by an attitude of inquiry which does not necessarily accept the conventional or existing rules, the belief being that the use of new classifications and new methods may throw an entirely different light on questions which have heretofore given rise to ineffective procedure and to uncertainty.

The four members of the original faculty are Walter Wheeler Cook, former Professor of Law at Yale University; Leon Carroll Marshall, former Director of Economics and Business at the University of Chicago; Herman Oliphant, former Professor of Law at Columbia University; and Hessel Edward Yntema, former Professor of Roman Law and Comparative Jurisprudence at Columbia University.

From the first the faculty and sponsors of the Institute of Law of the Johns Hopkins University have refrained from setting up a program looking years ahead, believing that future developments in the work should be left to take the direction which circumstances, experience, and the search for truth seem to justify.



The Institute of Law, to be built at Johns Hopkins University

The Crisis of Christian Missions In China

I

By FRANK RAWLINSON

EDITOR, *The Chinese Recorder*, SHANGHAI

CHINA'S REVOLUTION began about thirty-five years ago as an underground stream. In 1911 this stream burst through the surface. It grew in volume and power until during the last few years it overflowed the country. Five revolutionary tidal waves have swept the destiny of China into the hands of a modern-trained but restless leadership. This leadership is inspired by new ideals, is framing new programs and is reasserting China's integrity through the writing of new treaties and the securing of a real, if still somewhat circumscribed, tariff autonomy. The nation at large, however, is in a state of disintegration. This appears in the breaking up of traditional political, economic, social and religious institutions. Although neither the new ideals and new programs, nor the disintegration of traditional institutions are as yet fully operative anywhere in China, nevertheless the revolutionary tidal waves have opened a new channel for China's life.

The outstanding effects of these changes upon Christianity are that its growth, statistically and geographically, has been noticeably retarded, its relationships changed and its spirit both distracted and stimulated. Most Christians in China have been profoundly affected by the revolution and its concomitants of disruption and reconstruction, and their response has been of three general types: a considerable proportion showing a tendency to slip back into their old ways; another group showing a hesitancy and uncertainty toward the revolutionary challenges to its environment and the remainder at-

tempting to readjust their faith and works to their changing environment. These three groups, of which the third is probably the smallest, correlate roughly with the degree of modern training received by each. In the third is found the progressive Christian leadership which, as in political life, is in the minority as regards the rank and file it is striving to lead.

It is clear that the revolution has weakened Christianity economically and numerically. Militarism in China, as elsewhere, has assumed the right to commandeer and use property for its own ends. The value of this property, added to the personal losses of Chinese Christians and missionaries, is considerable, though not yet finally measured. Its confiscation means a tremendous loss, even though it represents only a small percentage of the value of Christian property and possessions in China. Furthermore, the general economic depression has increased the difficulty of Chinese Christian self-help.

During the revolution the statistical strength of Christianity has decreased. Defections among church members have been numerous so that some of the smaller Christian centres have been blotted out and the value of many of those remaining is being questioned. Here and there one hears of evangelical gatherings, but these are not as prevalent as they once were. In general, evangelistic fervor has dwindled, which naturally affects the statistical growth of Christianity. Students in schools and inmates of hospitals have also decreased, the loss in East Central China being about 50 per cent. The mission-

ary force has been so depleted that only about 65 per cent of those working in China three years ago are still there. It seems unlikely that the missionary body will again reach its former strength.

Christian leadership has decreased numerically in the churches, the schools, the hospitals and in Christian social enterprises—more serious in some ways than the loss of lay members. There have been fewer candidates for specific Christian training, particularly the pastorate, showing that the drift of modern-trained Chinese is away from Church service. Some proportion of the leadership lost to Christianity has taken up similar types of work in political or other social and indigenous organizations. While this is to the good, nevertheless the loss of leadership retards tremendously the reconstruction of Christianity. Like the revolutionary army, Christianity has won its battle so far as actual survival is concerned, but has suffered the usual losses accompanying any type of warfare; it has passed through a battle of its own, which though subsiding, is probably far from ended.

The revolution has profoundly affected the relationship of Christianity to the Chinese Church and to Chinese Christians. As regards the treaties and administrative relationships between Chinese and Western churches, the old status and relationship still exist, technically. But in reality they are dead letters, legal and ecclesiastical ghosts. In addition, an anti-Christian movement and an attempt to dissociate education from religion have accompanied the revolution. Participating in these converging movements affecting Christianity have been three groups: the militarists, the Communists and the modern-trained educational leaders.

The effort to separate religion and education was due to a reasoned and widespread conviction not back of the other movements to an equal degree. However, they have all helped to reveal that Christianity has lost its treaty privileges. Whatever the status of the missionary, the Chinese Church is now,

for all practical purposes, free from the incubus of political privileges. Since the revolutionaries ignored them and threw them by the wayside it is recognized that they are worthless and useless. Thus, the Lutherans in Hunan who are trying to rouse Chinese Christians to appeal to the National Government for required religious courses in private schools are basing their appeal on the Chinese Constitution and not on the old treaty privileges.

During the past thirty-five years Christianity has taken the lead in China as regards education and medicine, and during this generation alone has initiated anti-opium campaigns as well as agricultural improvements and industrial reforms. Now this leadership, so far as the nation is concerned, has passed into the hands of non-church and sometimes non-Christian organizations, and to no small extent into the hands of the National Government, which is setting up new standards and programs to meet these needs on a nation-wide scale. Christianity is thus called on to assist in reforms now becoming a part of China's national life. Modern leadership along these lines runs parallel to or even apart from the Church. However, it should be noted that many Christians are active along all these lines apart from the organized efforts of the Church. The revolution has thus made it necessary for the Church to compete with indigenous organizations and at the same time has enlarged the opportunity for Christian cooperation with extra Church forces.

The measure of unification achieved nationally has thrown into relief the still inadequate solidarity of the Christian forces. Mobilization of ideals and forces has gone further outside the Church than within it, and, strangely enough, there is much less Christian interest in unity now than a few years ago. This seems due, on the one hand to the emphasis laid on the national movement which has led Chinese Christians to centre their attention on their local and group developments—a tendency toward self-centredness which

retards unity—and on the other hand to a realization that organizations working for Christian unity do not promise, up to date, to meet the demands of Chinese unity. They have been too foreign. A growing desire for a more democratic control of national Christian organizations has resulted in a reorganization of the National Christian Council along lines more representative of the Chinese Church. In any event, the revolution has made it clear that Chinese Christian solidarity cannot be built up around forms imported unchanged from the West. Chinese Christians no longer look to the West for either standards or forms. Their eyes are turned upon the challenges in their own environment. This change of consciousness and attitude is an important effect of the revolution.

The revolution has put Christianity on an equal basis with other religions in China. Its right to exist has been conceded, albeit still opposed by some extremists. The preliminary Constitutions admit the right of the Chinese to accept any religion they wish. Up to the present, Christianity has won equality only, but to have won this is a noteworthy achievement. At the same time Christianity is beginning to show appreciation of the values in other religious systems, and a rising feeling that some of their values will have to be built into a reconstructed Chinese Christian life. This tolerance is due partly to the fact that all religions in China have faced a common danger of anti-religious onslaughts, and now seek the common privilege of religious liberty.



Times Wide World

A student and labor delegation, typical of China's modern youth movement

Attacks on Christianity and the Church have brought to Chinese Christians a deeper awareness of themselves as a Chinese body, as a religious movement within China. In other words, the Chinese Church is trying to realize both its distinctiveness as a religious group and its unity with the life of China. Mental and spiritual unrest is inevitable at such a stage of experience.

The virulence of anti-Christian attack has sharpened the Church's realization of its own capabilities and responsibilities. The evacuation of many missionaries has taught Chinese Christians to depend more on themselves and has revealed the latent leadership in the Chinese Church which helps to offset the numerical loss. Thus Chinese Christians have begun to see that their Church must prove its integrity as a Chinese movement before it can wield an effective national influence. It is clear that the future of Christianity in China depends upon its cooperation



Times Wide World

Chinese priests in Rome, just before they were made Bishops by the Pope

with modern leadership and ideals, a wise use of China's religious values and full and free development of Chinese Christian autonomy and responsibility.

The chief effect of the revolution upon Christians is that, generally speaking, it has given them a changing mind and spirit. Statistical and economic losses may be borne with equanimity, for in neither of these is the future of Christianity rooted. It is rather in the effects of the revolution upon the Christian spirit that we shall find either a portent of futility or a promise of ability to master its new relationships, challenges and opportunities.

These effects have been both negative and positive. On the negative side there is widespread confusion and uncertainty about the message and function of Christianity. That this is more evident in the ranks of youth and those given the advantages of modern training is significant in that these youths must supply the future leadership of Christianity.

This confusion is evidenced in three ways. First, there is considerable un-

certainty about the effectiveness of the Church as now organized. No Chinese group has yet evolved a Chinese form of Church organization that commands general approval. Just as the nation at large has accepted the necessity of political reorganization, thoughtful Christians feel the need of Church reorganization, though in achieving it they are somewhat behind their political contemporaries.

Second, while Chinese Christians are not generally looked on as foreign agents, the missionaries still are so regarded by many Chinese. The revolution has made it clear that in some way the missionaries must be completely freed from such an interpretation of their presence in China.

Third, with fifteen different Christian sects, there is uncertainty as to the content of the Christian message. This is the result of anti-Christian criticism, sectarian divisionism and an apparent conflict between science and much Christian teaching. "The message of the pulpit does not always accord with that of classroom." "The old-time preacher cannot feed the modern-educated Chinese." The situation ap-

parent in these statements is not entirely due to the Chinese revolution; it is world-wide. But it is an unmistakable sign of the general breaking up of old institutional and spiritual attitudes. The old loyalties are weakening. Loyalty to the mission conflicts with loyalty to the Church. Loyalty to the authority of the Bible is in conflict with new educational regulations. In some cases this confusion and uncertainty, together with the conflict of loyalties, create what can only be described as a spiritual débâcle.

There are, however, developments which may be looked on as positive and promising effects of the revolution. They are only beginnings and are evident only in a minority, but it is always minorities that lead into new effort and experience. Hopeful signs are particularly apparent among educational leaders and national organizations such as the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A. and the National Christian Council. They are also evident, though to a much less degree, in the rank and file of the laity and the Christian ministry.

Among these there is a deep and widespread intellectual awakening which recognizes the need for a really indigenous, Christian message. This does not mean a message new in essentials, but a message couched in native Chinese thought forms.

Chinese Christians are, furthermore, awakening to the problem of religious liberty, a new problem created by the revolution. The awakening of labor and the peasants has brought home to the Church the urgent necessity of meeting their special problems. Christian inter-

est in these problems has grown up with the revolution, as evidenced by a secretary for rural work added to the staff of the National Christian Council, and a special study of this field by the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A. and Shantung University. This new interest is part of a "fundamental redirection of the mission enterprise."

That the revolution has hastened the release of Chinese women for a freer and fuller life is quite evident also. It has turned their attention to the urgent need of an improved home life, social equality and capacity for social service.

One of the most valuable effects of the revolution on Christianity is the growth of a critical, scientific attitude, an experimental approach to all the problems of Christian living and service. There is also a deepened appreciation of spiritual and human values as over against the economic and ecclesiastical. Missionaries are viewed more in terms of their personalities than of their economic or professional contributions. Students in Christian institutions are turning more to thoughts of service than preparation for salary-earning careers.

The revolution has induced a tendency to simplify the Christian religion and to refocus Christian faith. Chinese Christians have never had any widespread, vital interest in the historical Christian creeds. The revolution has not strengthened their interest. It has rather led them to seek still more for the unifying essentials of their faith, to make more immediate and personal their relation to God, their Western colleagues and their countrymen.

II

By HALLETT ABEND

RESIDENT JOURNALIST IN PEKING

THE DAY of the missionaries in China seems to be rapidly drawing to a close. Superstitious though the Chinese are, and often given to abstract philosophy, as a people they are not religious-minded. After many decades of sincere effort and the

spending of uncounted hundreds of millions of dollars, the Protestant missionaries can now claim the extremely meagre result of less than 500,000 living converts or Chinese Protestant Christians. The Catholics have done much better, and can point to nearly

2,500,000 converts. The enumeration in the two branches of the Christian Church is, however, on a different basis. The Protestants enumerate only adults; the Catholics enumerate all in a family who are baptized.

The cost of the conversion of those 3,000,000 Christians out of a total population of 400,000,000, about three-quarters of one per cent has been stupendous. In 1928 the United Foreign Missions of the Protestant Church of America alone spent \$6,557,056 in China. Other Protestant American missionary bodies spent fully \$1,000,000, while European Protestant missions expended about \$3,500,000. That was a total expenditure by Protestants, for one year, of \$10,000,000. Add to this the \$5,000,000 estimated expenditure by the Catholic missions, and we have a total for Christian missionary work in China of \$15,000,000 a year.

Though Chinese indifference to Christianity often shades into the dark hues of violent anti-Chinese feeling, the factor which makes almost certain a waning missionary influence is the significant anti-foreign unity of thought amongst political leaders in China. As the spirit of nationalism deepens, so will this anti-foreign feeling become more intense, and Chinese Christians will have much to endure because of their conversion by foreigners. Already the hand of the Nanking Government rests so heavily upon mission schools and colleges that the teaching of Christianity in these institutions may no longer be made a prescribed course, while courses in the "Three Peoples' Principles" of Sun Yat-sen, which are distinctly anti-foreign, are compulsory. Today the slogan used most frequently by Kuomintang anti-foreign agitators is that Christianity is the forerunner of imperialism and seeks to dull and distract the national consciousness.

By an ironical coincidence the missionaries themselves in their zeal to forward anything that might improve the Chinese people, have campaigned in their own home lands most zealously for the Nationalist cause. When the

Nationalist armies swarmed northward through China it was mission interests which suffered more than any other foreign interests. Yet the missionaries as a class have urged upon their diplomatic and consular representatives, upon their home boards and supporters and upon their own governments, the wisdom and expediency of meeting all demands, however intolerant, of the Nanking Government. This attitude, which has resulted in crippling their own possibilities for usefulness, was actuated by the fact that the missionaries realized that if they opposed any portion of the Nationalist program they would be driven out of the country entirely. If they resisted the abolition of extraterritoriality, if they campaigned for the retention in China of foreign gunboats and foreign land forces, if they declared that the day had not yet come when the "unequal treaties" could safely be abolished, they risked stirring up the bitter animosity of the people whom they were trying to reach.

So it happens that by letters to their boards and churches and friends at home, by newspaper and magazine articles and by lecture tours at home, the missionaries have been the unwitting tools and invaluable assistants of the propagandists who were trying to hoodwink the rest of the world about China; they tragically assisted in their own undoing and helped to build up, particularly in the United States, Canada and Great Britain, a public sentiment decidedly opposed to any intervention in China, no matter how severe the provocation. However well-intentioned this missionary activity may have been, it was assuredly ill-advised, even stupid to an amazing degree. At Shanghai in the Summer of 1926 the missionaries hoped for the triumph of Nationalism, and stubbornly refused to believe that if it should triumph, their own institutions would probably meet the same shameful treatment which earlier that year had been meted out by Nationalists to the Canton Hospital, to the Stout Memorial Hospital at Wuchow and to the Canton Christian College, to

mention only a few "incidents." The same obtuseness was almost universal all through the Winter and early Spring of 1927 in the Peking-Tientsin and Shantung areas. Though almost all mission institutions between Canton and Hankow had been closed by the northward advance of the Nationalist armies, the missionaries in North China still hoped ardently that the Nationalists would reach Peking, and refused to believe that their own institutions would eventually fare likewise.

This policy of compromise has not earned the missionaries the good-will of the Nationalist leaders, and the Kuomintang propagandists today as a class are probably the most determinedly anti-Christian group of men to be found in all China. One would have thought that the missionaries would have taken alarm during 1926 and 1927, and would have realized that since Russian and Chinese Communist advisers and propagandists were shaping the whole ideology of the Nationalist movement, that movement was bound to be as anti-Christian as Russian communism itself. Instead, the missionaries branded friendly councilors as "reactionaries" and forwarded the very cause which culminated in the "Nanking incident" of March, 1927, and which sent about 6,000 missionaries scurrying to the foreign concessions, to Japan, to America and to Europe, abandoning their missions, hospitals, schools and colleges to be looted, wrecked and in many cases put to the torch by Nationalist enthusiasts.

Careful observers are agreed that the present administration at Nanking is the most anti-foreign in its complexion that has been accepted as the "government of China" since the Boxer massacres in 1900, but Nanking's apologists hotly deny this charge, and point to government manifestoes and mandates concerning the fundamental rights of a people to freedom of worship. In September, 1928, Article 261 of the new Chinese Criminal Code was formally enacted by the Nanking Government, specifying that "whoever commits any insulting or humiliating act

against any temple, monastery, grave or any place of worship, shall be punished with imprisonment for a term of not more than six months' detention, or a fine of not more than \$300. Whoever interferes with any religious service, or worship, shall be liable to the same punishment." This new law reads very well, but it is not being enforced either for the protection of Christian, Buddhist, Confucian or Mohammedan places of worship. Instead, there have been since the law's enactment literally scores and scores of cases of anti-Christian violence and attacks upon churches and missions which have been led by local Kuomintang leaders—and the Kuomintang is the government of China. So far there is no official record of any Kuomintang member being punished or even reprimanded by Nanking for any of these attacks.

The mission institutions of learning, when they registered under Nanking's Education law, found that the boards of trustees had to be more than 50 per cent Chinese, that the president must in all cases be a Chinese, that classes in Christianity were often barred. Moreover, attendance at chapel services had to be changed to make attendance voluntary instead of compulsory. In short, mission schools ceased to be primarily places where Christianity was taught to Chinese and became schools pure and simple for Chinese, supported by mission funds. This has caused several denominations to close all their schools and colleges in China. In some provinces, Fukien, for instance, orders were issued that no religious instruction of any kind should be given in any schools in grades below the third year of the middle school. This ban on religious classes has made many missionaries feel that they can no longer conscientiously appeal to supporters at home for funds, because those who give such funds do so for evangelization and would not contribute if they knew they were to be used only for secular education.

Missionaries in China have stood virtually as trustees of millions and millions of dollars' worth of property in

China, purchased with foreign money which was contributed for definite purposes. What wonder that there is today serious "stock taking" among the missionaries and much heart-searching concerning future policies?

The closing of missions or further crippling of missionary effort means a serious loss to non-Christian Chinese, a loss far more important than the loss of the money which for years has been flowing into China for mission work. The cause of education receives a serious setback whenever mission schools or colleges are closed. The lame, the halt and the blind among the Chinese suffer more than necessary whenever mission hospitals are closed by anti-Christian demonstrations. Moreover, the cause of China suffers when the missionaries are hindered or driven out, because for decades it has been the missionaries more than any foreign class who have urged and ceaselessly campaigned in favor of an international policy of patience and non-interference where China is concerned.

The plight of mission work in China has resulted in the development of two schools of thought. One favors concentrating all funds and all efforts on a few highly efficient institutions, in the belief that the attempt to spread Christianity over all China in a very thin layer is wasted effort. This school believes in training a few Chinese to high efficiency and then letting them carry on the work. On the other hand, advocates of decentralization point out, as one detail, that the cost of sending six Chinese students through a medical college would pay for one year of primary schooling for 32,600 children, and call attention to the great number of highly educated Chinese who, even now, are unable to find positions; they urge that the work be conducted with the masses instead of educating the few.

When exclusively evangelical work is considered the costs seem appallingly high. British mission figures show that each convert costs in cash over £56, more than \$800 in Chinese money, according to exchange rates prevailing

early in 1930. Dr. Robert E. Speer, addressing the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, offered figures which have never been controverted, and declared:

I pick out two of the largest missionary bodies in China. In one of these bodies last year the average addition to the Church was one Chinese convert for every two employed and salaried agents, teachers or preachers. In the other of them, it was one addition to the Church during the year to every four salaried workers. Here are two things you can't get away from. They are just the fundamental essential realities.

These "fundamental realities" will become even more serious as Nationalist anti-Christian propagandists spread among the Chinese people the conviction that conversion to Christianity is unpatriotic. On the other hand, British contributors will ask, Why give £56 to convert one Chinese to Christianity when agents of the Chinese Government are not only trying to balk conversions but by anti-foreign propaganda are helping to destroy the market in China for British goods, thereby prolonging the period during which British unemployment remains a national menace?

Many influential Chinese Christians are today outspoken in declaring that they feel missionaries to be "the agents of imperialism." They say that now that the Bible has been translated into Chinese the need for foreign workers is at an end, and that if the missionaries have been sincere, they will now leave China and rely on Chinese Christians for the further spread of the gospel. The Chinese Christians of the Hankow-Wuchang area, for instance, are on record in a set of resolutions which declare that "the only thing we can do is to work hard for the independence of the Christian Church, so that it may be free from the control of foreigners and may rid itself forever of all relationship with imperialism." Again, in Shanghai the Chinese Christians are on record in formal resolutions which insist that "the time has come when missionaries must choose between Chinese Nationalism and their

home countries," adding that those missionaries who would not espouse Nationalism should lose no time about departing from China for their home lands.

The list of missionaries murdered in the interior of China in 1929 was appallingly large, while the first ten weeks of 1930 chronicled five such killings. Missionaries who venture into bandit-infested regions or into areas under the domination of Communist bands do so at their own risk, and the Nanking Government cannot be blamed for what befalls foreigners who insist upon venturing into lawless zones. In many provinces, particularly in Shantung, the anti-Christian campaign is carried on under the direction of the provincial Kuomintang party headquarters. During the first three months of 1930 there were many instances of Kuomintang workers inciting mobs to march upon missions, to picket hospitals, to close schools or colleges. In many of these cases Nationalist soldiers accompanied the mobs, rifles on shoulders, to "protect" the mobs from the missionaries, and stood by as interested spectators while the missions were looted and slogans were posted on the churches and chapels. Here are some of the anti-Christian slogans seemingly sanctioned by the Kuomintang party, for they were found in "Special Orders" signed by and bearing the official seals of Kuomintang Propaganda directors:

Christianity is primarily the vanguard of the cultural invasion of the Imperialists; therefore it should be speedily stamped out.

The Cross of Christ is a tool of Imperialism to crush the Chinese people.

Open the knife and slay all who profess the foreign teachings.

Those who sympathize with Christianity are undesirable members of the Chinese race and traitors to their country.

Under the leadership of the Kuomintang do your best to attack Christianity.

The aim of Christian education is to propagate slavery, to destroy the heart of society by means of education and intoxication of the minds of the young. Therefore the thing to do is to attack Christian schools.

Anti-Christian work should be carried on from the standpoint of Nationalism. Therefore, the anti-Christian movement is part of the National Revolution. If our anti-Christian movement succeeds, the first defense of Imperialism will have been pierced.

The Kuomintang party headquarters in Tientsin, in an official statement issued early in 1930, accused foreign missionaries of making a business of dealing in opium and morphine and with smuggling arms into China for rebels and for thugs. When *The Peking and Tientsin Times*, a British-owned newspaper, called for a retraction and branded these charges as "calculated and frigid lies," the response of the Kuomintang was to confiscate all copies of the newspaper and to deny it circulation in the mails. The Nanking Government did not check nor rebuke the Tientsin Kuomintang, which was then the representative of Nanking's authority in Tientsin.

The Nanking leaders must use different pens when they write mandates about "religious liberty," when they send notes to foreign powers guaranteeing protection of foreigners in China if extraterritoriality is surrendered, and when they instruct Kuomintang locals to launch anti-foreign and anti-Christian campaigns.

Latin-American Social and Political Progress

By CARLETON BEALS

WRITER ON LATIN COUNTRIES OF EUROPE AND AMERICA

IN MEXICO, Ambassador Dwight W. Morrow temporarily overcame a long-standing tradition of diplomatic antagonism. His efforts have continental significance. Mexico's revolutionary experiments had been closely watched by all Latin America—to be imitated, improved upon, or rejected. Morrow, in dominating the latest phase of the Mexican revolution, influenced the immediate future of the Western Hemisphere.

The southern countries are politically precarious because of the conflict between modern industrialization and their outworn feudalism. Race and cultural conflicts also contribute. Whether their belated provincial feudalism will pass and the various race struggles be solved in an evolutionary manner or through a series of violent upheavals depends a great deal upon our own policies. Enlightened tactics on our part will eliminate an entire sphere of potential antagonism, making us friends, thus strengthening our security in a troubled world.

The problem, however, is not one merely of friendly attitude. There have been plenty of official harbingers of good-will toward Latin America. One of the first notable bearers of the olive-branch, since our twentieth century economic expansion, was Elihu Root, when Secretary of State. In 1905-6 he toured South America to allay fears springing from our 1898 acquisitions of Spanish-speaking territory and the 1903 Panama episode. He set up a real current of cordiality; his name to this day is a byword of esteem in Latin America.

President Wilson's statement of policy toward Latin America (March 12,

1913), his Mobile address (Oct. 27, 1913), his calling of the A. B. C. powers (Argentina, Brazil and Chile), to face the Mexican situation—all were formulas for friendship and cooperation. Yet these pleasing words and acts synchronized with armed intervention in Nicaragua, Honduras, Santo Domingo, Cuba, Haiti and Mexico. President Harding and Secretary of State Hughes both declared Latin America need fear nothing from us. President Coolidge made similar remarks to the Pan-American Congress of Journalists (Washington, April 8, 1926); but his address to the Pan-American Congress (Havana, 1928) coincided with the bloodiest battles of our marines in Nicaragua. No wonder Latin Americans have never taken our official enunciations too seriously!

At the close of the last century, investments of United States citizens in Latin America amounted to \$290,000,000, of which \$185,000,000 was in Mexico, \$50,000,000 in Cuba, and \$55,000,000 in the remaining countries. By the beginning of 1929, our investments had reached \$5,200,000,000—eighteen times as much as in 1899, four times as much as in 1913. For every dollar invested in Europe we have five in Latin America, and our trade in this area is rapidly expanding.

What is the true nature of the lands to which these vast sums have gone? Racial contrasts and plurality of types—Indian, Spanish, Portuguese, Negro, plus sprinklings of the Orient and Europe, of all interbred varieties—have long reflected lack of cultural homogeneity, causing violent shifts in political control.

The Hispanic-American independence

wars were largely Creole, clerical, aristocratic reactions against the French revolutionary concepts. The nineteenth century in Europe heralded the ascendancy of science and material progress and free business competition. The scientist and business men, the creators of the new era, advocated political democracy, anti-clericalism, popular education, individualism, the rights of man. But in Latin America, the new "Liberals" lacked the training, the knowledge, the economic reality of the new mercantile and scientific groups of Europe and America. Mere intellectuals and theorists, they have never won the battle. Latin America thus remained semi-feudal, non-commercial, largely dominated by a landed and mining aristocracy, tempered by communal Indian agriculture. There was no appreciable middle-class of rising industrial elements, no diffusion of technical, mechanical or scientific knowledge.

Having no economic bases for the new régime, the "Liberals," wherever temporarily successful, were forced illogically back into the non-liberal theory and practice of the absolute feudal state. Even with absolute power in their hands, they failed miserably, as most recently in Mexico, to create the necessary, sustaining, independent national economy. As soon as they got their feet in the trough, the South American "Liberals" despoiled the Catholic Church, encroached upon the indigenous communal system and drifted into the landed aristocracy, often creating serfdom as did the Mexican "Liberal," Porfirio Diaz.

Now, new theories of proletarian emancipation have awakened strong echoes in Latin America. A few years ago in most of Latin America no Communist groups existed. Since then, native conditions, world unrest and paid propagandists of the Moscow International, have caused to be established, secretly or openly, Communist nuclei in every Latin-American country. And so the twentieth century struggle of classes is flung into the already chaotic struggle between "Liberals" and "Conservatives." The new

proletarian catchwords are tacked upon old race and social conflicts—new deckings for old animosities.

Further fervor is aroused by the cry of "anti-imperialism!" The Latin-American working and peasant class is told by the Communist agitator: "Not only must you strike off your race fetters, your religious fetters, your feudal landlordism, but you are in danger of enslavement by foreign capitalists and must combat with your life blood the 'Colossus of the North.' Imperialistic greed in Latin America will precipitate a struggle for world power between Britain and the United States. In that hour the Latin-American proletariat must prevent its governments being made catspaws of one side or the other, and must rise up and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat."

In many parts even the "Liberals," to retain their dwindling leadership, have had recourse to proletarian catchwords. They make a hybrid philosophy of their belated nineteenth century doctrines and the new proletarian credo of Marx and Lenin. This, in part, was the history of the late Mexican revolution—till Ambassador Morrow arrived.

This language sounds strange because a modern proletariat does not exist in Latin America. Just as the "Liberals" were unprepared effectively to fight Colonial aristocracy with anything except ideas, so the downtrodden races and proletariat of Latin America, while representing more definitely an economic class, are untrained in industrial methods, know less about modern agriculture than their backward absentee landlords, have been denied the education given European populations by successful nineteenth century "liberalism."

Latin America cannot stem world economic forces. The rapid industrialization of other portions of the globe made rapid exploitation of raw products imperative. The 25,000,000 automobiles in the United States need cheap gasoline, oil, lubricants, rubber, steel; the American merchant marine has about 9,000,000 tons of oil-driven vessels, over half the world's tonnage;



Ewing Galloway

Primitive living conditions of a Mexican family near the Hacienda Barron brick works

hence oil wells in Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and elsewhere. The 6,000,000 potential acres of rubber land in Central and South America would help us overcome British control of over half the world's supply and provide us with tires, erasers, raincoats and minister to a thousand and one industrial needs. Honduran, Brazilian and Nicaraguan hardwoods are needed in ever larger and more constant quantities. The American industrial machine cannot pause or be denied.

This imperious process, for the most of the Southern countries, has had many funereal consequences. Often the worst political scoundrels of Latin America have been most in need of our friendship to stay in power and have taken pains to cultivate it. They have provided costly, ultimately ruinous stability in return.

The need for adequate labor supply has also brought abuses. Our great development enterprises have left labor ignorant, utilizing quantity rather than

quality. We have perpetuated the semi-serfdom of native plantation systems because this was the readiest thing to do, declares the Catholic Association for International Peace in its booklet, *Latin America and the United States*:

There is a primary question of whether in the economic development further areas should be turned over to the one-crop plantation type of farming owned by corporations under the plan called industrialized agriculture. Let us consider, for example, Haiti. An industrialized Haiti would mean large sugar plantations and large rubber plantations. The country is relatively crowded. Extensive sugar and rubber plantations in Haiti would mean the withdrawal of masses of the Haitians from their little farms and their change to casual farm and sugar mill laborers employed part of the year, unemployed the rest of the year, and landless the year round.

* * * If the industry were owned by foreigners, which is probable, the evil of absenteeism would be added to the rest of the evils; both the small farm owners and the large owners would become landless.

The same is true of fruit plantations in much of the Caribbean area. In some Latin-American countries, concessions often stipulate that the government shall supply the necessary labor. Guillermo Rodríguez describes the resultant forced labor system in his *Guatemala*:

And even more abusive and habitual is the arrival of the mounted and infantry escorts to capture the workers; by day and by night, in their homes or at their work, without asking permission of any one, they hunt them down like deer, they are caught, bound and carried off.

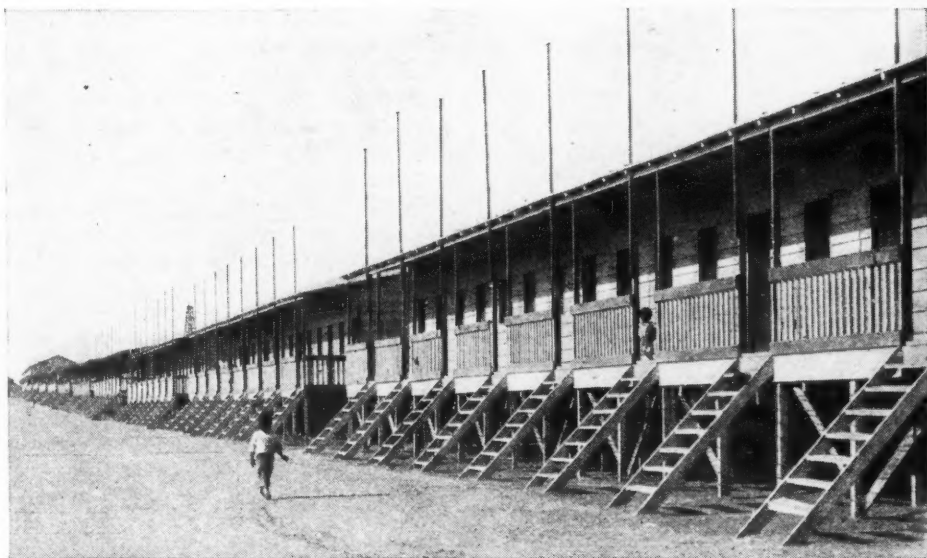
The sanitation required for exploiting the tropics and undeveloped regions has not been an unmixed blessing. Such philanthropic organizations as the Rockefeller Foundation have done much admirable and gratuitous work, eliminating yellow fever, malaria and other diseases. But such charitable en-

terprise is not always available. Numbers of the countries—for example, Salvador and Nicaragua—have accumulated ridiculous foreign debts for street-paving, sanitation and other laudable health enterprises—debts supervised by foreign commissions drawing burdensome salaries. Every effort is strained to meet payment; education goes by the board, and the population remains in ignorant poverty. Witness, for instance, the decline in Haitian and Nicaraguan elementary school outlays after we took over affairs.

Rapid raw-product exploitation also obstructs, in part, the establishment of diversified industries and prevents a rounded economic development. This creates an unsound dependence upon one leading industry and the foreign capital which controls it, places the country or region completely at the mercy of world market fluctuations, and further weakens national stability. Mexico at one time depended for nearly 60 per cent of her national income upon oil. Mining, also in foreign hands, made up a goodly portion of the remainder—a most unhealthy situation. Cuba seems doomed to dependence upon foreign-

owned sugar plantations; Honduras upon bananas; various South American countries upon mineral products; Haiti upon sugar and rubber; Venezuela upon oil.

The banana companies in Central America have retrieved a large area from wilderness, have built new towns, railroads and harbors. Yet, in some cases, the people and governments are worse off than before. The banana companies not only completely control the economic life of the region, but their annual returns exceed the national government's income. The natives must buy at company stores; all imports of the companies being often duty free, native merchants cannot compete. In Honduras Jamaican Negroes hold all minor controlling posts; the natives are reduced to manual labor. The governments receive insignificant amounts in the way of tax returns from the companies, thus forcing heavier taxes on the rest of the country. In Costa Rica, the export tax on bananas is very slight; that on native-owned coffee burdensomely high. In a number of countries, as in Honduras, much of the taxes go for interest on loans to



Ewing Galloway

MAIN STREET, NEGRITOS, PERU
Workers' homes, built by the International Petroleum Company

the same companies. On one occasion, when I was in Honduras, the school teachers had not been paid for two years; the policemen were on strike because they had not been paid for six months. The native politicians are probably far more to blame than the banana companies, but the latter have not helped matters.

When all the oil companies leave Mexico after extracting the oil from the Tamaulipas and Vera Cruz region, they will leave the wilderness they found. The people have been dislocated, made less capable of self-support; education has not been advanced by the presence of the industry, and the natives, condemned to the harsher labors, have learned little technique.

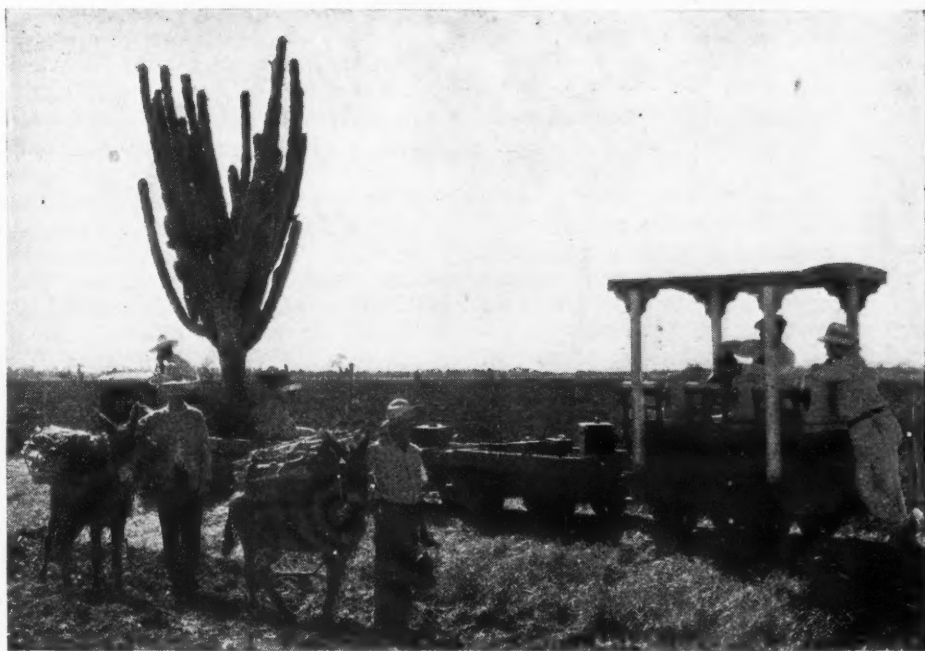
To summarize: the present form of raw products exploitation in Latin America tends to keep in power military or aristocratic dictatorships contributing to the perpetuation of widely separated caste lines and preventing modernization, thus widening the gulf between Latin America and the rest of the world; it has created heavy financial obligations which have kept the populations in misery; it has dislocated large sectors of the population, taking them away from settled agricultural pursuits to force them into casual labor; it has distorted the national economy, preventing a normal and rounded development; it has perpetuated iniquitous and backward plantation systems; it has failed to further the education of the masses or to lift them above their primitive standards of living; it has placed many of the governments at the mercy of a small group of capitalists in the United States; by creating an ever wider chasm between the aspirations of the people and their governments, it has caused repeated revolutions further weighting the governments down with debt; it has cost the United States large sums for armed intervention; it has jeopardized our whole friendship with Latin America and has put us in an unenviable rôle in the eyes of the rest of the world.

Fortunately, more and more, we are becoming interested in sound financing

and commerce. Already a fourth of our foreign trade is with Latin America; more than a third of Latin America's imports and exports are with us. Also, to an increasing extent, certain American banking interests are realizing that it is shortsighted to take advantage through our monopoly of Latin-American finances, of weakened economic conditions to drive excessively hard bargains as has happened in Bolivia, Haiti, Nicaragua and elsewhere. More important is the creation of new fields for permanent enterprise. The southern countries, because they suffer from maladministration, because money lent is frequently stolen by high government officials, because revolutions eat it up, cannot be bled to death. Hard bargains merely complete the vicious circle.

The enlightened attitude of Ambassador Morrow in Mexico is an example of the newer attitude. President Hoover is also an expression of change of outlook. His Department of Commerce activities gave him a broader grasp of the problem. His preinaugural tour of southern countries was significant. To President Irigoyen of Argentina he is reported to have promised, "No longer will the Government of the United States intervene in the internal life of other countries."

Ultimately our earlier reckless extraction of raw materials must receive a check as it did in Mexico. Why seize so many raw materials if the exploited population remains at such a low economic level that it cannot buy back our manufactured products? At present not over 25 per cent, in some cases less, are consumers of modern industrial products. The remaining three-fourths, living in small towns and rural districts, are people who live in huts in which there are no windows, chimneys, beds, tables, knives, forks, table linen. Many of them wear homemade sandals and home-woven hats. Yet enough of these same people have escaped to better living conditions to prove that they are not intrinsically incapable of embracing improved modes of life. Their present state is due to ignorance, enslavement, oppression, bad government,



Ewing Galloway

Transportation, old and new, on Hacienda Barron, Mexico, the 4,500-acre estate owned by a United States citizen

religious superstition, and to the failure to round out the national economy.

What direction is the new Latin America going to take? Mexico stood as a beacon and an outpost for Latin America, because of its defiance of the United States, its new education, its land distribution, its concessions to the proletariat. Bitterness toward the United States might have become more accentuated; the Communist régime might have taken deep hold. This example meant the grave possibility of proletarian revolutions of a violent nature in all Latin America. In Mexico Ambassador Morrow definitely redirected the revolutionary currents, and thereby perhaps in all Latin America. This was accomplished by his frank realization of Mexico's need to stabilize its rural population on the land, to educate its people, to raise their material standards and to tap resources in all directions, not merely in ways profitable to a few American entrepreneurs.

We, of course, are not responsible for the social renovation of Latin

America, nor are we to blame for its past backwardness, however much, in certain localities, we may have hindered or distorted proper development. But we can demonstrate our interest and promote conditions more fruitful for our broader national interests, not merely in protecting loans, collecting debts, enforcing stability by marines, but in stimulating education, communications and other forms of native enterprises. This is precisely what our more far-sighted representatives have been increasingly trying to do. President Coolidge's proposed Pan-American highway was typical. Through our government agencies we can increasingly direct American investment into channels which would produce a more harmonious and balanced national development of the various countries. We should stimulate the progress of the populations by increasing their buying capacity. By considering the needs of Latin America more broadly, we can ultimately better serve our own needs.

MEXICO CITY, June, 1930.

Great Britain's Attitude on the Drink Problem

By W. C. MacLEOD

MINISTER OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA

PROHIBITION of the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors in Great Britain is only a remote prospect. The people of England, Scotland and Ireland have only a casual interest in prohibition; press and pulpit devote little time to discussion of the subject and it has but few advocates in Parliament. Traditional ideas of personal liberty and a national conservatism oppose any alteration of old customs in regard to eating or drinking.

But while sentiment is against prohibition, it is cordial to temperance, and there is widespread agreement that drinking is on the decline. Measured by gallons and by currency, there has been an improvement. It is estimated that the amount of beer consumed is two-thirds of what it was before the war and the amount of spirits one-half. Women frequent the public houses much less than formerly and in contrast to the Continental custom, where men and women patronize the beer gardens together, the men of Britain prefer to drink at a bar, and resent the presence of women. Furthermore, as compared with a generation ago there is less drinking among the young people. Today the moderate drinker feels the weight of public opinion. Twenty years ago the sight of a drunken man on the street was the occasion of hilarious laughter; now it elicits mingled pity and disgust. While liquor is still served at many dinners and banquets, there is a pronounced movement toward a change from excessive indulgence. Ideas of hospitality have undergone some transformation but old customs are still strong. The statement is made that the Church of Scotland will soon pronounce officially in favor of unfer-

mented wine at communion, and a much larger percentage of the younger ministers are friends of abstinence than even a generation ago. Hogmanay night has been for years a time of revelry; much drinking is still customary, but the past was worse than the present.

The most potent factor in reducing the amount spent on drink has been the increased cost of whisky. The advance in price has been so pronounced that workmen who were regular drinkers of spirits find it beyond their means. The price of beer has remained almost stationary, but its alcoholic content has been reduced. There is still a great deal of drinking, especially of malted liquors, but comparatively less drunkenness. Another influence, though less easily perceived, has been the sustained education of the public. An effort is made to put the matter on a permanent basis by revealing the injurious effects of overindulgence in drink and the narcotic influence of alcohol. With the severe and prolonged unemployment, furthermore, money is much scarcer than in normal times, and there is less to spend on liquor. If industries revived and money circulated as freely as in good times an upward curve in liquor consumption and expenditure would be likely. If the tax on liquor were lowered consumption would increase. A powerful influence against drinking is found in the new and better places of public entertainment. In pre-war days workmen depended on the public house for warmth, music and companionship in the evening. Now, the movies attract thousands of former patrons of the saloon. Much importance is attached to athletics, outdoor exercise, the auto and the revived use of the bicycle. Credit also should be given

to the rescue work of missions, churches, settlement houses, the fine spirit of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides and the quiet and sustained efforts of judicious leaders.

The Labor Government, shortly after coming into office in 1929, appointed two Royal Commissions, one for England and Wales and one for Scotland, to inquire into matters pertaining to licensing. Both are now hearing evidence with a view to making recommendations on which the government can base legislation. The points of contention with which the commissioners are asked to deal are various. Licensed clubs, for instance, have increased in numbers during recent years. They obtain a license ostensibly for social, political or fraternal reasons and usually the conditions for inspection are much less severe than those required for public houses. The privileges have been abused by about one-fifth of the clubs and these are bringing the better class into disrepute.

An effort is being made to bring the clubs under the same jurisdiction as places of sale for liquor.

Provision is made by law for the Sunday sale of liquor by hotels to travelers. Confusion has arisen over the definition of what constitutes a traveler. The people who cause trouble are not tourists from America, for they are credited with being in harmony with law and order, but in many cases groups of men and women from the larger centres motor to places otherwise quiet and, posing as travelers, demand liquor. Protests are numerous from municipalities which dislike the Sunday invasion, though it is doubtful if public sentiment is sufficiently strong to restrict the sale on Sunday to both travelers and residents.

At present it is possible for a ward of a city to vote dry, but in order to do so 35 per cent of the electorate must record their vote in favor of no license and of that number 55 per cent of the vote cast must be in favor of "no license." The temperance forces claim that this places on them an undue handicap and have asked for the repeal of

the 35 per cent stipulation. Only a few places (thirty out of 1,210) have exerted themselves to secure local option, and these are in the west and north of Scotland. Where licensed areas border so closely on "no license" areas little benefit can follow local option. The temperance group also advocates the application of local option to licensed clubs and wholesale liquor stores. The "trade" opposes this as a penalty on wholesale houses whose business is often outside the bounds of the area in question.

Public houses are limited to eight hours per day, opening not earlier than 10 A. M. and closing not later than 10 P. M. With Daylight Saving Time this is considered early enough by temperance people, but the "trade" is working for an extension of the hours of sale and an increase in the alcoholic content of beer. A uniform closing hour for all public places is advocated; 10 P. M. has been suggested as a closing time even for bars in theatres.

Government control as adopted by the several Provinces of Canada is discussed as another phase of the problem. About the only place to give it conspicuous trial is the city of Carlisle, and reports differ as to its unqualified success, but there is a growing feeling, especially among Socialists, that the experiment should be given a more extended application. People who are quite averse to considering prohibition are influenced by the prospect of public revenue from the sale of liquor. If licenses were suddenly canceled, compensation would be sought for the loss of investments, although the temperance advocates do not concede the point.

Unemployment insurance, or the "dole," instead of being a very recent introduction, goes back eighteen years. It first came into force in 1912, during the Liberal Government of Mr. Asquith, and thus has been endorsed by all parties—Liberal, Conservative and Socialist. Virtually all manual laborers come within the scope of its operation; the fees are met by compulsory contribution by the employers and employes, supplemented by the government. Re-



A "pub" in the East End of London, about 1840

cently the provisions have been made wider, but the extreme Left Wing of the Labor party clamors for further concessions. Acute unemployment prevails in many areas and no solution has been found apart from the dole, although it is acknowledged to be at variance with economic principles. Workers who contribute have no compunction about accepting relief. Non-participating taxpayers assert that the receipt of the dole has broken the fine traditional spirit of the British, and especially the characteristic Scottish independence. Cases can be cited where families have figured that they are better off by working as little as possible and accepting the insurance. No stipulation is made by the government that the receiver must not spend the money on liquor and statistics are not available to show whether drinking is influenced by receipt of unemployment insurance. A police officer who has been on duty on the nights following the payment of the dole asserted that the number of arrests for drunkenness was out of all proportion to the other nights of the week. In the case of parish council relief there is an effort to curb drinking

by providing relief "in kind," but even when the family are given an order for provisions they frequently succeed in getting it changed for liquor.

Official figures strongly favor the contention that there is a decrease in crime as well as in drinking. The number of people found incapable of taking care of themselves shows a steady decline. Many would contend that this shows a close relation between crime and intemperance, but the British official sees the question in another light. Chief Constable Ross of Edinburgh, in *The Police Journal* of January, 1929, writes that crime as it comes within the scope of the Police Department has little relation to intemperance. In some cases intemperance may be an accompaniment although not the main contributory factor. But other authorities would place the percentage of crime attributable to drink as high as 70 per cent. A candid observer will admit that although the figures for drink in Scotland seem so very large as compared with official figures in America, and the Scots are drinkers of whisky, which is more inflammable to the temper, yet crimes of violence are of much rarer occurrence. Even in the

poorer wards, where poverty and drinking are most pronounced, there is no element which can be regarded as a criminal class. In large cities like Glasgow within recent months there has been considerable disturbance by gangs of rough young men, but organized banditry and educated gunmen are comparatively unknown. This is one of the points where a prohibitionist is faced with a conflict between theory and facts.

In the struggle between Wets and Drys the issue which has emerged supreme is the economic. Sir Josiah

Stamp, chairman of the London Midland Scottish Railway, says, "From the economic point of view, the production of this country [Britain], if there were no alcohol, would be 8 to 15 per cent higher." The annual loss in production is about \$1,125,000,000. He adds: "In the moral field my personal feeling is that moral forces would have a much greater chance with a more moderate consumption of alcohol, and that under these changed conditions all sorts of other good social influences would have a chance to grow. I am sure of that."



The Green Dragon Inn, Wymondham, England, typical of the inns to be found in almost every English village. "Licensed to retail beer, ale, porter" is written over the door

Insanity Pleas in Court Procedure

By WINFRED OVERHOLSER

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EXPERTS IN VARIOUS lines have long been known to courts of law, but with the development of science and of specialization their variety and use is steadily increasing. Not only physicians, but chemists, engineers and experts in other fields have been and are today used very frequently in civil as well as in criminal cases. The reason why the alienist has come into much more prominence in this connection than any other type of expert is that he has frequently been associated with cases arising from some particularly startling crime. As a result much notoriety has been acquired, and undue emphasis placed upon the testimony given. Often the defense produces alienists to prove the defendant mentally irresponsible while the prosecution produces an equal or greater number to establish the contrary. Complicated and illogical situations such as this have caused widespread criticism and distrust of the experts.

To understand the function of the alienist in court it is necessary to examine the English common law, upon which the most of our practices and traditions are based. This code held that in regard to most crimes what is known as a criminal intent must accompany the act itself. In other words, not only must the act be proved but also a coexisting intention to do something known by the offender to be wrong. If this intent could be shown to be absent no crime had been committed. It was thus a valid defense to prove either that the act had not been committed by the defendant or that when he committed it he was in such a mental state as to be unable to conceive the essential "criminal intent." In the latter case, he was considered to be not responsible. If acquitted by

reason of insanity, he was detained in an institution "at his Majesty's pleasure."

But the question soon arose as to the degree of disorder necessary to constitute legal insanity. As a result, the law set up various so-called "tests," which depended much on the prevailing psychology and reflected an increasing degree of humanitarianism in the administration of the criminal law. Unfortunately these tests have not kept step with the advances of psychiatry, with the result that even today the so-called M'Naghten rule, laid down in 1843, setting up as a test the knowledge of right and wrong, is still in force. Its principle, briefly, is that to establish a defense on the grounds of insanity it must be proved that at the time of committing the act the accused was "laboring under such a defect of reason from disease of mind as not to know the nature and quality of the act he was doing, or if he did know it, did not know he was doing what was wrong." It is the existence of this ancient rule that has caused much embarrassment to alienists in criminal cases.

Even before tests of insanity were set up the courts recognized that there were various matters upon which they did not possess sufficient knowledge and training to pass. In the early days of English law the judge was the dominating figure of the trial, and the jury was there primarily to aid him to determine the facts. The courts apparently did not hesitate to call in men in whom they felt confidence and who could advise them upon special matters. As early as 1353, for instance, we find surgeons called in to advise on the nature of certain wounds. As long as these men, trained and possessed of special knowledge, were summoned as

friends of the court both judge and jury could well have confidence in their testimony. By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the jury had become the sole judges of the facts, and the expert, instead of an adviser of the court, had become merely a witness to the jury. He was presented by one side or the other, that is, as a partisan. Immediately and inevitably his status changed; the existence of bias was recognized, with the result that the expert's evidence carried much less weight than formerly.

In criminal cases the decision to introduce the plea of insanity originates with some one not a medical man. Sometimes the judge himself, the District Attorney, jail official or the attorney for the defense may consider an examination desirable. If the judge has any doubts as to the sanity of the defendant, it is his duty to determine to his own satisfaction, at least, that the defendant is fit to stand trial before allowing the trial to proceed. It is not in the obvious cases, however, that the "battles of experts" occur. It may be that the facts of the crime charged are so clear that no alibi or claim of self-defense can be considered. In a case of this sort insanity may be the only possible defense, so that the accused's attorney may introduce the plea merely as legal strategy, realizing full well that it is not justified in fact, or that there is the merest possibility that the defendant is mentally diseased.

Having decided, however, to introduce the insanity plea, the attorney consults psychiatrists. The evaluation of a human being's conduct is a problem which offers much greater latitude for difference of opinion than does, for instance, the diagnosis of a fractured leg. Furthermore, a proper psychiatric examination implies not only a thorough examination of the patient, but likewise knowledge of his previous reactions to various life-situations. It is only natural that the defense attorneys should present to the examiner only those features of the history which favor his contention. Another psychia-

trist approached by the prosecutor and provided with a different set of facts may come to an opposite conclusion. But even if the psychiatrists retained by the respective sides agree as to the symptoms and the diagnosis, they may still differ in the bearing of their findings on the so-called "responsibility" of the offender. Two eminent men may agree that the defendant is a moron with a mental age of perhaps 11 years, yet one may consider him "responsible," while the other does not.

One of the greatest difficulties is that the psychiatrist is called upon to give his opinion on a subject which is really a moral or philosophical one—namely, the bearing of the symptoms upon an abstract notion of free will and the ability to choose between right and wrong, based upon concepts which come down to us from the early Victorian period. He must conform to these rigid and antiquated "tests of insanity," whereas it would be much more enlightening and helpful if he might explain freely to the jury the mental processes of the defendant and their bearing upon the offense. Suppose, however, that the prisoner is not suffering from mental disease at the trial, but it is claimed that he was insane at the time of the offense. Here an examination may not be helpful, since it is made some time after the crime charged. In a case of this sort, as a means of putting the evidence before the jury, a "hypothetical question" is presented to the expert, asking his opinion of the mental state of a supposed individual who is shown by other testimony to have acted in a certain way. Needless to say, the lawyer employs chiefly, or exclusively, those factors which favor his thesis, and the question is worded so that the expert's opinion, which may be entirely correct on the basis of those facts, will favor this contention. A similar procedure is followed by the other side, with the result that the two experts appear to differ diametrically, though fundamentally they may be in sustained agreement. It is, of course, axiomatic that

the lawyer will present only those experts whom he knows to favor his theory.

These hypothetical questions are propounded before a jury of laymen unfamiliar with the principles of modern psychiatry. It is hardly any wonder that the jury is likely to become confused, disregard all the expert evidence and use what is sometimes euphemistically termed common sense—a priceless aid, to be sure, to trained knowledge, but hardly a substitute for it.

If the jury finds that at the time of the act the defendant was insane, what happens? In too many of our States, the result is that he goes to a hospital for a short period only or that a separate trial is instituted to ascertain whether or not he should be sent to a hospital at all. In other words, the likelihood is great that he will soon be released, although he may be potentially a very dangerous individual. This is precisely what happened in the Remus case in Ohio.

In spite of the fact that no expert evidence had been introduced to the effect that Remus was insane at the time of the killing, the jury brought in a verdict of "not guilty by reason of insanity." They did this because the judge had informed them that they must not bring in a verdict of not guilty. They were sympathetic with Remus, apparently feeling that the "unwritten law" was an adequate defense, and so did what they considered the next best thing for him. The State was then in the awkward situation of having to go into the probate court in an attempt to prove that Remus was insane, requiring commitment. A courageous judge committed him, but soon after was overruled by a majority of judges who had heard the appeal, with the result that Remus was promptly released.

Situations of this sort are the fault of the law and can be remedied if Legislatures will act. The Ohio Legislature was prompted to act after the Remus fiasco, with the result that release there is now much more difficult after an acquittal by reason of insanity than it was formerly. In England an auto-

matic result of a verdict of insanity is to bring about the defendant's detention "at his Majesty's pleasure." A similar procedure exists in Massachusetts, where an acquittal on a charge of murder by reason of insanity brings about mandatory commitment for life to a mental hospital. In this instance release comes through the Governor only after the approval of the State Department of Mental Diseases, based upon a careful and impartial examination of the defendant. Releases under this system are rare.

Suppose that the jury disregards evidence as to the prisoner's mental disease or defect and finds him guilty. This has been done under conditions where public opinion was much outraged by the crime. There is reason to think that a dispassionate jury would have found Guiteau, who killed President Garfield, insane. The community's sense of outrage, however, had to be salved. There were doubts as to Hickman's sanity; yet no one who knew the state of public feeling at that time expected the jury to do anything but find him sane as well as guilty. There is, then, a distinct possibility of executing an insane person under the present system. Unless one is to adopt the principle of euthanasia and maintain that all insane and feeble-minded should be put out of the way, humanity should revolt at the thought of putting to death one who is not of sound mind. The English common law, never accused of "coddling," has not for centuries contemplated such executions. This possibility has been overcome satisfactorily in New York State, where a commission examines all persons awaiting execution.

Except in capital cases the verdict of guilty may mean that the individual is segregated for all too short a time. There are many instances in which the psychiatrists, if given their own way, would segregate permanently or for a long period an individual who had committed an offense which in the eyes of the law might be rather trivial but which to the psychiatrist might indicate dangerous criminal possibilities.

At present the alienist is usually a partisan, and the legal procedure tends to emphasize any differences of opinion as to prisoner's mental condition. The expert who testifies without conscience for the sake of the fee alone, is rare. He is in bad odor with his colleagues; is looked upon with suspicion by the majority of lawyers, and is likely to be recognized by the jury as unreliable. Instances in which disagreements have appeared, while not numerous, have occurred in some highly notorious cases, with the result that the seriousness of the situation has been much exaggerated in the public mind.

Attempts have been made to remedy these abuses. Committees of the American Bar Association have commented upon the undesirable aspects of the present method of introducing expert testimony. The American Psychiatric Association several years ago selected a committee to study the matter and the American Medical Association* has appointed a similar committee. These three national organizations are co-operating through their respective committees; as a result of their study we may expect some definite and constructive recommendations.

As long ago as 1909 the State of Washington provided that the jury should determine only whether or not the defendant had committed the act in question, the matter of his sanity being left to the subsequent determination of the judge. This law was declared unconstitutional on the assumption

that the mental state is a material fact and must therefore be passed upon by the jury. In a number of States laws have been passed giving a judge himself the right to summon experts, who were to be impartial and to have such status in court. In 1910 a Michigan law to this effect was declared unconstitutional, the Supreme Court holding that to introduce an expert as neutral would give him an undue weight with the jury so that the defendant's case might be prejudiced. Here we see a tendency, exhibited elsewhere in the law, to make secondary the search for truth, emphasizing the strictly legalistic interpretation of statutes and precedents. Although the Michigan Supreme Court has been severely criticized for this decision by eminent legal authorities, the Supreme Court of Illinois followed its example two years ago. These decisions seem to ignore the fact that the provision of an impartial expert constitutes a return to the original English common law, and that the United States Supreme Court has affirmed the inherent right of courts "to provide themselves with the appropriate instruments required for the performance of their duties."

In some States formal "commissions in lunacy" have been used. Even when these are made up of qualified physicians they savor in method of a trial and are hardly suited to ascertain the truth in what is primarily a medical matter. Furthermore, some judges have appointed either physicians who knew nothing of mental disease or men unqualified from any point of view but the political, being neither medically nor legally trained. The situation in New York City has attracted public attention, particularly in connection with the exorbitant fees charged by these commissions. In any event, the system unfortunately calls for selection by a layman, and there still is no assurance that the right defendants will be examined.

Colorado and Louisiana have passed laws making it compulsory for the judge to commit the defendant temporarily to a mental hospital if the plea

*In June, 1930, the American Medical Association in convention adopted the following resolutions:

(1) That there be available to every criminal and juvenile court a psychiatric service to assist the court in the disposition of offenders; (2) that no criminal may be sentenced for any felony in any case in which the judge has any discretion as to the sentence until there be filed as a part of the record a psychiatric report; (3) that there be a psychiatric service available to every penal and correctional institution; (4) that there be a psychiatric report on every prisoner convicted of a felony before he is released; (5) that there be established in each State a complete system of administrative transfer and parole, and that there be no decision for or against any parole or any transfer from one institution to another without a psychiatric report.

of insanity is introduced. Although this assures a period of satisfactory observation and a neutral report, again the selection of cases is non-medical. The Louisiana statute was subsequently declared invalid by reason of a provision that the report of the commission should be final, thus depriving the defendant of the right to present this defense. California recently sought to solve the problem by making a separate jury trial necessary on the issue of sanity, held after the trial on the merits of the case. This is an unnecessary and unfair complication, which is already receiving serious criticism from some judges and attorneys, for why should a lay jury be thought competent to pass upon the complicated issue of an individual's mental processes?

The courts appreciate the fact that impartial psychiatric advice can be of service to them. According to a survey conducted by the National Crime Commission, over nine per cent of the 1,168 courts consulted stated that they have regular psychiatric service either from psychiatrists regularly employed by them or from outside clinics.

Only one procedure has yet been put into practice which meets the objection outlined above. This is known as the Briggs law—after its author, Dr. L. Vernon Briggs, a prominent Boston psychiatrist—and has been in force in Massachusetts since 1921. Under this law all persons indicted for capital offenses or those accused of felonies who have previously been convicted of a felony are reported to the State Department of Mental Diseases. This department then appoints two qualified psychiatrists to make an examination, the report being accessible to the prosecutor, the defense counsel, the court and the probation officer. If the examiners state that the prisoner is insane the District Attorney has no interest in proceeding further with the prosecution. The judge is not compelled to call a jury, but on his own authority orders him committed to a hospital until such time as he recovers. Upon his restoration to sanity the accused is returned to the court for disposition. If,

on the other hand, the defendant is reported sane it is hardly likely that other physicians who are partisans will be called in to controvert this evidence, even if the right of the accused to present such evidence is preserved. As a matter of fact the report is nearly always final, and no scandalous "duels of experts" occur in Massachusetts. Rarely, in homicide cases, is the jury instructed to bring in a formal verdict of "not guilty by reason of insanity," which closes the case and brings about the prisoner's commitment for life. In any event, society is thoroughly protected and every assurance can be given that no prisoner who is mentally unfit is put on trial.

The suggestion has been offered that insanity should not be allowed as a defense to criminal charges. This would call for an entire revision of the existing criminal law and of our ideas of penal-correctional treatment. That such a change is inevitable can safely be stated, even if it is not likely to occur immediately. The plan proposed by former Governor Smith of New York to the effect that the jury pass only on the question of whether the accused committed the act, leaving the entire matter of disposition to a board of experts, has the backing of many thoughtful students of the subject.

If in every case of conviction of a felony the defendant were sent to a classification prison from which, after being examined he would be transferred to the appropriate institution for as long a period as his condition indicated, and released only on a scientific rather than routine or political basis, and if capital punishment were abolished, we should probably see a practical elimination of the plea of insanity in the course of the trial. Until, however, these far-reaching changes in criminal procedure are brought about, the adoption of some such method as that in Massachusetts and the assurance that release upon acquittal by reason of insanity shall be difficult are necessary if the self-respect of the alienist and the confidence of the public in him are to be regained.

Birth Control Tendency in Europe

By GUY IRVING BURCH

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, POPULATION REFERENCE BUREAU

A FEW MONTHS AGO an eminent New York justice told an immigration conference that the birth rate of Italy was "400,000." A few years ago an otherwise well-informed English woman doctor lamented to me that England was becoming "depopulated." Newspaper reports sometimes speak of such and such a country having a birth rate of "20 per 100,000 population." The birth rate of Italy in 1928 was 26.1 per 1,000 population, and the "400,000" referred to by the justice really represented the natural increase, that is, births over deaths, for Italy per year. The density of population in England and Wales, which are among the most densely populated countries in the civilized world, is about 700 per square mile, and when the English woman doctor lamented the depopulation of England that country was increasing by more than 300,000 births over deaths, annually. "Population increase," "the rate of population increase," "natural increase," "births over deaths" and "the birth rate" are constantly confused with one another.

In considering population problems in Europe it should be remembered that, notwithstanding more than a hundred years of the greatest mass emigration and the most destructive wars to human life perhaps the world has ever witnessed, the population of Europe has about tripled since 1800; that the machine which made possible more than a century of unparalleled population growth is now throwing thousands of unskilled laborers into the army of the unemployed; that Europe has three times as large a population as the United States and that the standard of living in the United States is about three times higher than it is in Europe.

As one travels across the Continent

of Europe from the Balkan States to the British Isles and the Scandinavian countries, it will be found that birth, death and illiteracy rates become lower, but that the standards of living become higher.

Before 1876 the birth and death rates of the European countries for which we have data (mostly countries of Northern and Western Europe) fluctuated in a rather haphazard fashion. About 1876 the birth rate reached its maximum in most European countries, and after that date the average birth rate of the thirteen countries of Europe for which we have data for both periods decreased in round numbers from 34 to 24 per 1,000, and the death rate decreased from 24 to 15 per 1,000 population. If the four-year post-war period 1924-27 is compared with the earlier period 1919-24, both the average birth rate and the average death rate of the original thirteen countries mentioned above sharply decreased. The birth rate decreased from about 24 to about 21.5 per 1,000 population and the death rate from about 15 to about 13.5 per 1,000 population.

So far, it seems, the percentage of decrease in the average death rate has kept pace with that of the average birth rate, but the rate of population growth has steadily declined. This phenomenon has been more pronounced in some countries than in others. From a study of the age and sex composition of the population in countries of Northern and Western Europe Dr. Robert R. Kuczynski points out that there is likely to occur an even sharper decline in the rate of population growth in these parts of Europe. According to Dr. Kuczynski, if fecundity per woman of child-bearing age does not increase the population of a number of countries of Northern and Western Europe

will become stationary in a few decades, and may even decline.

Such population authorities as Professor Warren S. Thompson and Dr. Louis I. Dublin see many distinct advantages in a slower growth of population, even in the United States, which is not so much in need of a stabilized population as the countries of Europe. "Far from regarding a slow population growth with dismay," says Professor Thompson, "we should look forward to it with eagerness because it will give us time, energy and funds to spend on improving the quality of living."

The nations that have constantly threatened the peace of the world are those which have the highest birth and death rates. Such among European nations are those in the Southern and Eastern parts of the Continent. Before the World War Central Europe had almost as high a birth rate as Southern and Eastern Europe, and notwithstanding industrial expansion, made possible by the wealth of mineral resources in the Rhine region, a relatively high death rate. German philosophers and statesmen insisted that Germany must have more land on which to support her ever-increasing population. Dr. Louis I. Dublin, when president of the American Statistical Association, said:

The World War was essentially an outgrowth of a pressing population problem which confronted the nations of Europe ten years ago. The peoples of Central Europe were overcrowded. Each country needed room for expansion and desired additional markets and colonies where surplus peoples could be accommodated and food could be raised for the use of the homeland. Germany more than any other country was striving for a place in the sun, and found her borders shadowed on the one hand by France and on the other by Russia. To make matters worse, she felt a sense of superiority to France, whose population she had far outstripped in numbers. The year of 1914 seemed to be an opportune time to strike for more territory. The fears engendered in France and Russia by an ever-growing Germany contributed to a state of mind which made war inevitable. This is an outstanding example of an almost universal condition.

At the end of the war Germany

found herself in a worse condition than ever. Not only were her colonies taken away from her but part of her mineral resources in the Rhine section as well, while her competition in trade was nearly destroyed. Many persons believed that prosperity in Germany, Austria and Hungary would not return for decades, but, coincident with temporary famine relief rendered by the United States, these countries gained a firmer control of the birth rate and their economic situation steadily improved.

In Germany contraceptive information is given at public marriage stations to women who need it for medical or economic reasons; while insurance companies are allowed to sterilize those who are diseased or overburdened with children. As a result of the rapid spread of contraception in Germany the birth rate of 32.9 per 1,000 population of the decade 1901-10 has decreased to 19.6 per 1,000 population for the period 1924-27. Furthermore, the death rate has decreased from 18.7 to 11.9 per 1,000 population during this period, notwithstanding adverse post-war conditions. The recent history of contraception education and vital statistics in Austria and Hungary has been similar to that in Germany. The birth rate in these two countries decreased more units than in any other two countries in Europe between the periods 1901-10 and 1919-24, and, notwithstanding the most unfavorable post-war conditions there was a similar drop in the death rate.

Italy under the leadership of Mussolini, is rattling the saber in much the same way as did Germany under the Kaiser before the World War. At the same time she has adopted the most severe laws against contraception. Despite a reduction of the number of emigrants to the United States from 222,260 in 1921 to a quota of 5,802 for 1930, Mussolini is advocating larger families and is trying to stimulate an increase in the birth rate. Yet he admits that Italy is poor in raw materials and that she must secure an outlet for her surplus population.

The population of a country can increase only so rapidly without endangering the standard of living. The population curve of most countries is relatively smooth and consistent. If some parents have many children, others must have few; otherwise the standard of living will be affected unfavorably. Moreover, the pressure of large families may even discourage many thoughtful persons from marrying. For example, the Irish Free State, in which both the government and the Church encourage large families, is noted for its low marriage rate, and a birth rate per thousand population which is relatively low for a country of Roman Catholic culture.

Holland is well known for its high marriage rate, contraceptive practices, small families and low death rate. The natural increase, that is, of births over deaths, in 1928 was 11.7 per 1,000 population, compared with 10.5 for Italy, although the birth rate in Holland is considerably lower than that in Italy. A better controlled and more even distribution of population growth would seem to make for a greater increase, if that is so desired.

The Italian people may be having large families, but the number of marriages, the birth rate and even the natural increase have been steadily declining during recent years. The birth rate of Italy has decreased progressively from 28.2 in 1924 to 26.1 in 1928. The natural increase has declined from 11.6 per 1,000 population in 1924 to 10.5 in 1928, and during the first eleven months of 1929 there were 29,460 fewer births in Italy than during the corresponding period in 1928. Even with the heavy tax on bachelors the number of marriages in Italy decreased from 246,000 for the first ten months of 1927 to 220,000 for the first ten months of 1928.

As a general rule a low birth rate is accompanied by a low death rate, but France has a low birth rate per thousand population and a relatively high death rate. In 1800 the population of France was considerably larger than that of Germany, Italy or England and

Wales. Today the population of Germany has far exceeded that of France, while Italy and England and Wales have caught up with France despite the mass emigration from the former countries during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The population of France grew from 27,349,003 in 1801 to 40,743,851 in 1926. During approximately the same period the population of Germany increased from 24,000,000 to 62,000,000; that of Italy from 18,000,000 to 40,000,000, and that of England and Wales from 8,000,000 to 39,000,000.

France has always blamed her slowly increasing population on her low birth rate, but since the World War various countries of Northern and Western Europe have reduced their birth rates below that of France and still maintained a steady increase in population. For instance, in 1922 England and Wales with about the same population and about the same birth rate increased 313,517 and France only 94,817. In 1926 there were 72,000 more births in France than in England and Wales, but the number of deaths in France was 260,000 more than in England and Wales.

It is difficult to speak of the population problem, especially in England, without mentioning Malthus. At the beginning of the nineteenth century he published his celebrated book, *The Principle of Population*, which contained evidence from various countries showing that mankind has a tendency to increase faster than the means of subsistence if reproduction is not rationally controlled. Those who imagine that Malthus was short-sighted and is now out of date forget that he conditioned his thesis on the rational control of reproduction. Not even the industrial revolution or the rapid settlement of the practically unpopulated New World could have absorbed Europe's surplus if the population had doubled every fifteen years. This is about the period in which it might have doubled if the means of subsistence had been available and if there had

been no rational control of reproduction. Even as it was, war and revolution have helped more than once to decrease the population of Europe.

Malthus's remedy for the vicious circle of poverty, suffering and death, caused by overpopulation was moral restraint and late marriage. The Neo-Malthusians adopted his general principle of population but their remedy for overpopulation is contraceptive birth control.

As a result of the world-wide publicity given to the Besant-Bradlaugh trial in England in 1877, the English and Dutch Neo-Malthusian leagues were organized, and shortly after the first practical birth control centre in the world was established in Holland in 1885. The decade before Holland adopted contraceptive education, 1871-1880, that country had ninth to the lowest death rate in Europe. During the six-year period 1919-24, Holland led the world in contraceptive education with more than fifty birth control centres

and the lowest death rate in Europe.

Contraception has made considerable headway in the Scandinavian countries, as well as in Germany, Holland and England and Wales, and this group of seven countries has the lowest death rate in Europe. Professor Karl Edin has recently made various studies of the differential birth rate in Stockholm, where the practice of contraception has been adopted by the "lower" classes of the population. Professor Edin's conclusion is: "The 'upper' classes of Greater Stockholm are now having larger families than the 'lower.'" Similar changes in the differential birth rate have been noted in various other cities of Northern and Western Europe where the practice of contraception has reached the "lower" classes of the population. Possibly contraception points the way toward a solution of Europe's population problems and to a more contented, more prosperous and more peaceful family of nations.

The Hudson Bay Port, a New Centre of World Trade

By J. A. STEVENSON

CANADIAN CORRESPONDENT OF THE LONDON *Times*

THE SEAWAY route which Henry Hudson first discovered promises to become a useful artery of commerce at no distant date or some two millions of Canadians who dwell in the Prairie Provinces of the Dominion will be grievously disappointed. They are already disappointed in some measure that the new route will not be open for traffic this Fall as was hoped and anticipated when the steel of the railway link reached its tidewater terminal on the bay at the end of April, 1929. A trial shipment of Western grain to London was successfully made last October in one of the boats of the Hudson Bay Company, but on the closing day of the last session of the Federal Parliament the Minister of Railways had to admit that there was little prospect of the route being available for regular commercial traffic before the Fall of 1931.

The task of ballasting on a permanent basis the railway roadbed which runs for miles over waterlogged stretches of morass, or muskeg as it is called in the North, has proved a laborious and expensive business, and the work of providing Churchill, the port, with the full equipment of harbor and dock facilities which has been planned for it, has presented some difficult problems. The task of dredging a satisfactory channel into the harbor has proved more troublesome than the engineers contemplated, and the work of transporting to such a remote spot the material necessary for the dock plant and grain elevators has not been simple. But perhaps the greatest problem of all has been the provision of an adequate water supply, for a few feet below the surface the ground remains

eternally frozen and a special system has to be installed. Again, the isolation of the place has made it difficult to retain a steady supply of efficient labor.

The construction work, however, is going steadily ahead and the people of Western Canada have now resigned themselves to wait patiently for its completion. They are almost to a man satisfied that when the Hudson Bay route is in full operation it will be the most important economic development which Canada has witnessed since the war and that it will incidentally affect the commercial currents of certain areas of the United States. They propose to make a great celebration of the formal opening of the route and if the Prince of Wales is unable to accept the invitation which has been tendered to him to officiate at the ceremony they hope to allure Winston Churchill from England, for it is was one of his ancestors that provided the port of Churchill with its name.

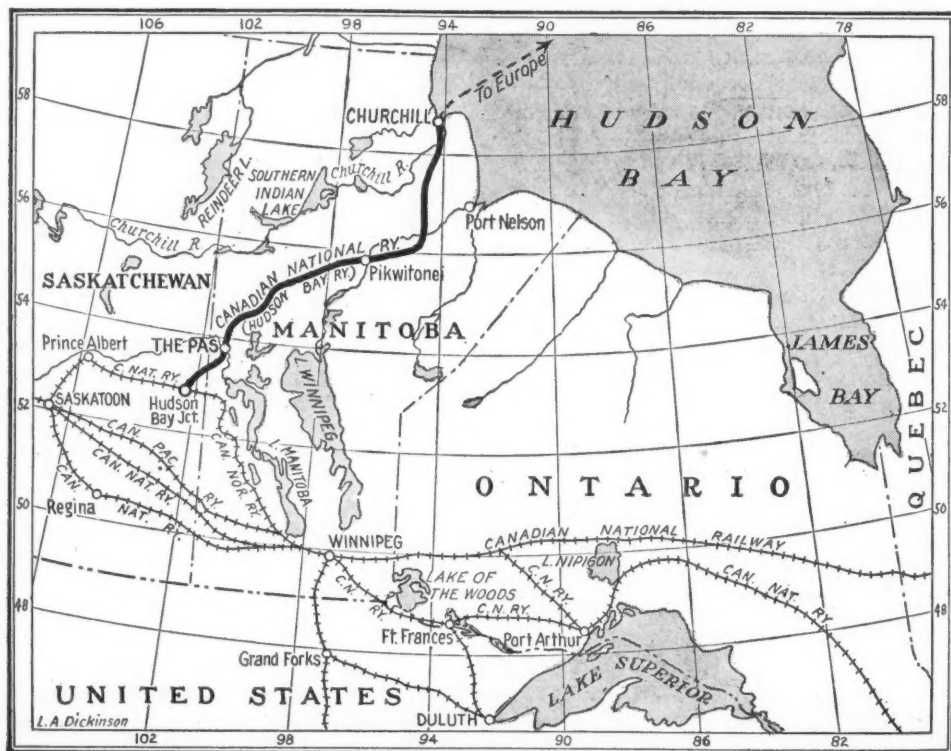
The Hudson Bay is a vast salt water gulf which cuts into the heart of the northern half of the North American Continent; it measures at its greatest length from north to south 1,000 miles and at its greatest breadth from east to west 600 miles. It is provided with a gateway into the Atlantic Ocean known as the Hudson Strait which is 500 miles long and has an average breadth of 100 miles. Henry Hudson was the first man to explore these icy waters, but for three centuries they have been known to whalers and other navigators. French and British warships fought naval engagements in the bay in the eighteenth century, and for more than 200 years the little ships of the Hudson Bay Company have been

plying in and out of the bay every Summer bringing supplies from Great Britain and taking back rich argosies of furs. Before Canada was consolidated into a dominion and the Canadian Pacific Railway built, the inhabitants of Western Canada regarded the Hudson Bay route as their easiest channel of communication with Europe. It was by it that the first agricultural settlers of the West, a body of Highland Scots who were known as "the Selkirk settlers," after the enterprising nobleman who organized the expedition, reached Manitoba, and almost every lad who entered the service of the Hudson Bay Company landed somewhere on the bay.

When the pioneer settlers of Manitoba in the eighties were chafing under the heavy freight rates demanded by the infant Canadian Pacific Railway, they always cherished the idea that a cheaper alternative route to Europe for

their products was available through Hudson Bay. A railway for that purpose was an election issue about 1887, and a company was formed and a charter secured. One night at a campaign meeting in Winnipeg a local politician who was seeking support as a sponsor of the railway produced a cablegram from London and amid tumultuous applause shouted, "Hooray, the rails are shipped." Actually a track going northward to the bay was laid for a few miles, and one day an engine with the magic letters "H. B. R." puffed forth after a solemn ceremonial. Later, however, when the election was safely over, the engine was discovered in the Canadian Pacific sheds in the hands of workmen who were deleting the magic letters "H. B. R." and substituting for them "C. P. R."

The influence of the Canadian Pacific effectively repressed any Hudson Bay schemes for some decades, but as



Map showing the Hudson Bay Railway

the prairies became settled with farmers, there came at every election a demand for pledges from candidates in the West that they would work for a railway to the bay. The people of the prairies, who were producing in their grain, live stock and dairy products 60 per cent of the commodities which sustained the export trade of the Dominion, had to compete with countries like New Zealand and Argentina which had water transportation close to centres of production. The development of Canada had been curiously lopsided. The manufacturing industries were almost all situated in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec along the basin of the St. Lawrence, so that the prairie farmers were compelled not only to sell their products at world prices but also to buy in a protected market at artificially enhanced prices. Thus they had to pay heavily for long railway hauls on both their sales and purchases.

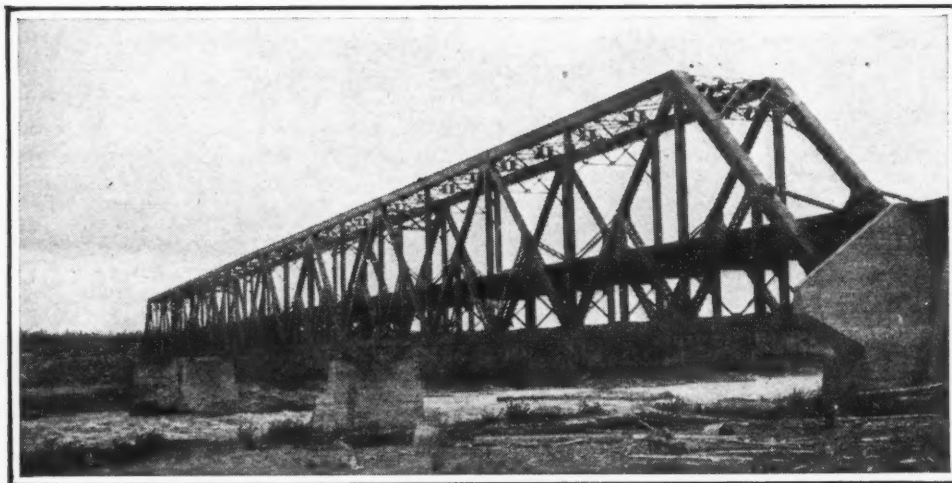
The farmers' opposition to the tariff made little impression against superior political weight of the industrialists of Eastern Canada, but they showed more persistence in demanding the opening of new routes which would reduce the cost of transporting their large exportable surplus of farm products to the world markets. The transportation interests of the East were naturally not enthusiastic about encouraging competition with the St. Lawrence route, but the Eastern manufacturers came to think that the construction of the Hudson Bay railway might reconcile the Western farmers to the existing tariff. Eventually, after the Canadian Northern Railway, which is now absorbed in the Canadian National System, had built a branch from Hudson Bay Junction, on its main line, to The Pas, in Northern Manitoba, the Laurier Government could no longer resist the Western pressure.

In 1910 the government secured authority from Parliament for the construction of a railway from The Pas to Hudson Bay, and Churchill, which under the name of Fort Churchill has been an important post of the Hudson

Bay Company for years, was chosen as the tidewater terminus of the railway. A town site was mapped out there, and the construction of the railway begun. Work, however, had barely been commenced when the government for some mysterious reason suddenly decided to make Port Nelson, fifty miles south of Churchill, the terminal, thus changing and shortening the route of the railroad. The right of way had been cleared and graded all the way to Port Nelson and 332 out of 426 miles of track had actually been laid when the World War broke out. The rush of men to enlist depleted the construction gangs and soon afterward the government, in view of the urgent demand for both man power and materials, decided to suspend all work upon the road, which lay derelict for the next eleven or twelve years, with most of the constructed portion not even kept in proper repair.

After the war the West at once demanded the resumption of the enterprise, but different governments at Ottawa had too heavy financial commitments to undertake additional burdens for some years. During the election campaign of 1925, however, definite pledges were exacted from both Liberal and Conservative leaders that the railway would be completed, and when the Liberal Ministry of Mr. Mackenzie King was returned to power it set about fulfilling its pledges. But in the intervening years it was discovered that Port Nelson had too many drawbacks as a harbor. Frederick Palmer, a well-known British engineer, after a careful inspection of both Port Nelson and Churchill, reported in favor of the latter and the government reverted to the original plan, once more changing the route. The necessary money was voted by Parliament amid some grumbling from the newspapers of Eastern centres like Montreal which apprehend a diversion of business enjoyed now by themselves. But the work of completing the railway and equipping the port at Churchill with modern facilities has been pushed rapidly ahead.

Since the value of the railway would



Courtesy Natural Resources Intelligence Service, Canada

The Hudson Railway bridge over the Nelson River at Kettle Rapids, Manitoba

depend largely upon navigation conditions in the bay, the Dominion Government, in 1927, sent an expedition of meteorological and other experts, accompanied by aviators, to the Hudson Straits. After spending eighteen months there, the experts submitted to Parliament a report which confirms the basic claims of the partisans of the route. The all-important question was the length of the navigation season and on this point the report says: "Taking July 1 as the opening date for the strait and the bay, and Nov. 16, when ice was first reported at Nottingham, as a closing date, we get a season of 120 days or practically four months during which commercial vessels could have been navigated with safety and without the aid of icebreakers." Navigation on the Great Lakes, through which the larger part of the exported grain of Western Canada is carried each year, usually closes before the middle of November and accordingly each Fall there will be just as long a period for shipping grain by the Hudson Bay route as by the lakes. Indeed, that period will be longer, since Churchill being so much nearer the grain fields, the first new grain will be received there at an earlier date than at Fort William, and it will be possible

to send shipments forward at a later date with the assurance of their dispatch. The report also indicates that the bay season could be extended by the use of icebreakers, while fogs need not prove a serious obstacle if all modern aids to navigation are employed.

Today the exports of the prairie Provinces reach the markets of Great Britain and the European Continent either by way of the Great Lakes and Atlantic ports or by way of the Pacific ports and the Panama Canal at heavy cost, but the Hudson Bay route offers the prospect of substantial reductions in the freight charges now levied upon the prairie farmers, as can be gathered from the following table which shows the distances from the more important centres of the prairies to Churchill and Montreal

From	To Churchill		To Mont'l	
	All Rail	Miles	All Rail	Gt. Lakes
Winnipeg	992	1,357	1,633	
Regina	843	1,713	1,990	
Moose Jaw...	886	1,756	2,032	
Saskatoon	847	1,828	2,136	
Edmonton ...	1,146	2,158	2,464	
Calgary	1,246	2,260	2,466	

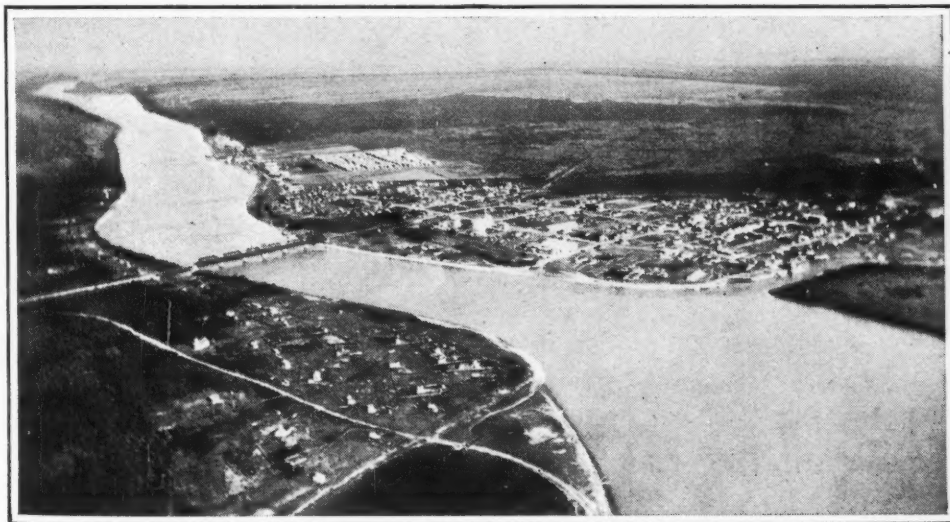
The ocean voyage from Montreal to Liverpool is 3,007 miles in length and

from Churchill by the shortest route it is about thirty miles less. Accordingly the new route will bring the leading centres of the prairies from 500 to 1,000 miles nearer to European markets, according to their location. Nor can the Vancouver-Panama route hope to compete with it during its navigation season, for by it the distance from Edmonton to Liverpool is 10,701 and from Calgary to Liverpool 10,572 miles.

The possible consequences of the opening of the Hudson Bay railway are being visualized with considerable alarm in different quarters. Since the war Winnipeg, which for a long time by reason of its position at the neck of a funnel controlled all the trade of the prairie Provinces, has suffered greatly from the competition of Vancouver, whose shipping business and general trade received a great impetus from the construction of the Panama Canal. Ten years ago only a very small volume of prairie grain used to be shipped out via Vancouver, but each year since then this business has grown, so that during the crop year 1928-29, which ended July 31, 1929, out of a total ex-

port of 354,424,699 bushels of wheat, 94,998,441 were exported through Vancouver. During the first ten months of the present crop year up to May 31, out of a total wheat export of 116,908,258 bushels, 41,380,730 went through Vancouver. In spite of a great falling off of Canadian imports, there has been an increase in Vancouver's proportion of imports which used to reach the prairie customer by way of Winnipeg.

Both Winnipeg and Vancouver now seem destined to yield part of both their import and export trade to Churchill. British manufacturers also are likely to profit by the new route, for the vessels and cars which take out wheat need not return empty if low rates are offered. In any event, since the government owns the Hudson Bay Railway, it will find itself forced to keep the rates low lest it be accused of trying to kill the route at its birth. British manufacturers should therefore find themselves enabled to compete on the prairies on better terms than ever before with the manufacturers of Eastern Canada and the United States. The Canadian correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* has been exhorting



Courtesy Natural Resources Intelligence Service, Canada

THE PAS, MANITOBA

An important station on the Hudson Bay Railroad

them to be ready to reap the advantages which the new route will offer.

The new railroad will bring Minnesota, the Dakotas, most of Montana and parts of Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska and Wyoming—no inconsiderable area—within 4,500 miles of Liverpool as compared with an average of more than 5,000 miles via Duluth or any of the upper lake ports. Churchill may soon offer better inducements for a large amount of grain and some other farm produce which is raised in the Northwestern States and which is exported via Montreal. The transportation interests of Canada and the United States have for many years found it advisable to make their rates show a reasonable conformity. When the American railways recently put in force a special emergency rate on wheat for export, the Canadian lines immediately followed suit. The popularity of the Hudson Bay route for Western products might easily force a reduction of Canadian rates on the Great Lakes route, and American transportation interests would be faced with the alternative of doing likewise or losing business. It has even been suggested that the new route might reshape the import trade of the continent and effect "a revolutionary change in the administration of that trade with possible serious deflections of control from New York and other bases." Certain enthusiasts in Western Canada cherish even more ambitious dreams. They want a through railway service between Churchill and Prince

Rupert on the Pacific Coast to provide an avenue of travel and trade communication between Europe and the Orient which would be only two-thirds as long as the Suez Canal route and 1,500 or 2,000 miles shorter than the present routes across Canada and the United States.

Every business interest in Western Canada which is concerned with export or import trade is now trying to appraise what the effects of the Hudson Bay railway will be upon its fortunes. At present its value as an export outlet for grain and live stock is chiefly stressed, but the new mining field in Northern Manitoba, which contains the Flin-Flon, Sherritt-Gordon and other promising mines, is also easily accessible from Churchill. The whole area west of the Hudson Bay is known to be richly mineralized and during the Summer of 1929 it was swarming with prospectors using Churchill as their base of operations, conducting them in many cases by airplanes. Three of the largest banks in Canada are apparently convinced that Churchill will sooner or later offer them good business, for they have already established branches there. There are, it must be admitted, some doubters and scoffers in Eastern Canada who maintain that experience will demonstrate the hopeless impracticability of the Hudson Bay route for regular commercial traffic and that the pressure of Western visionaries has committed the country to a huge waste of money, but they could only expound their views on the prairies at peril of their lives.

The French Foreign Legion

By SIDNEY E. WHITMAN

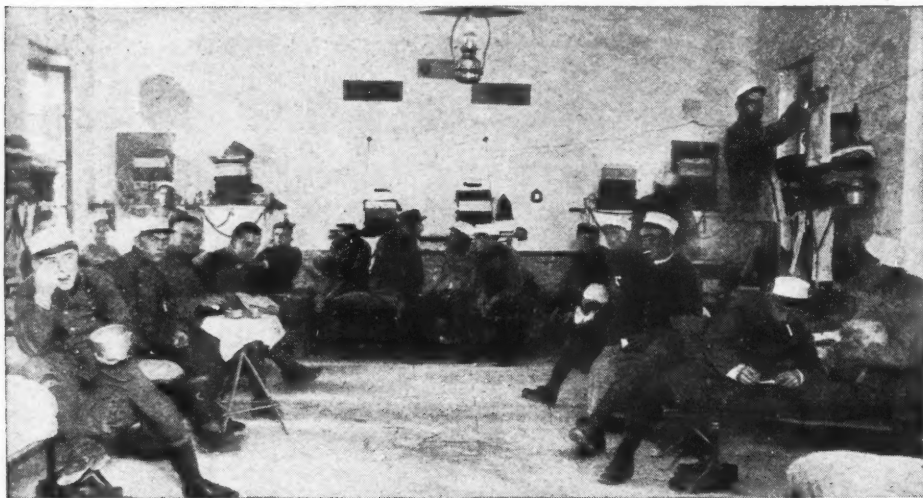
WHY IS THE French Foreign Legion famous? Most of us have read something about it in novels and adventurous tales, and seen bits of its life depicted on the screen. History records that the Legion has done this and that from time to time, but when it comes to a quest for facts there seems to be a dearth of general information about this organization, one of the strangest units in the history of arms.

The term "Legion" as applied to French arms seems to have first appeared in the latter part of the eighteenth century during Napoleon's Spanish peninsular campaign, when decimated regiments were temporarily welded into war strength groups; out of one of such groups probably grew the first Foreign Legion. There seems to be little question that it was an offshoot of the older mercenary type of regiment composed of adventurers and professional soldiers, a class widely familiar in bygone days, when the wandering fighting man was in his element, selling his services to the cause holding the most appeal, without any emotional prompting of patriotism or civic spirit. With the cessation of hostilities, such units lost their reason for existence and were disbanded. This is exactly what happened to the first Foreign Legion of France.

With the restoration, and at the instigation of Louis Philippe, the Legion was resurrected. Then came the occupation of Algiers by the Duke of Orleans during France's colonial expansion and consolidation, and the establishment of permanent military headquarters at Sibi-bel-Abbes. The creation of the French Colonial Army followed, and the Legion came into its own as the nucleus of this corps, though at the time it was not strictly the type of organization it was later to become, *la légion étrangère*.

The motto of this remarkable fighting force—*Honneur Fidélité-Valeur et Discipline*—when reviewed in light of the facts concerning the Legion, contains more than a touch of European irony. The words *Honneur* and *Fidélité* conjure up shades of Royalist France, and suggest the original thought back of the formation of the Legion; to give a man who had made a mistake the chance to rehabilitate himself, a worthy aim in theory, but one which has tended to exceed its scope in actual practice. For though the personnel of the Legion has shown wide fluctuations from time to time, the professional soldier, restless adventurer, and fleeing criminal have always been in the majority.

At the opening of the great war it was estimated to be 70 per cent German, and 30 per cent international riff-raff—a condition that gave the Legion the complexion of the old-time, low-grade German regiment, with all its brutishness. This element was foreordained to be troublesome, as the only bond the legionnaires shared in common with the French was a mutual hatred of the Arab, and in 1915 they deserted in droves to the German cause when the Legion entered upon active service. At this same time much misinformation got abroad to the effect that enthusiasts for the allied cause were enlisting in the Legion, there to be grouped into units of separate nationalities. This brought into its service many a better-grade recruit, who, however, quickly learned that the old-time Legionary still quite dominated the organization, and who found himself bound for five years' voluntary servitude with the choicest offscourings of Europe's social dregs. Exceptions there were, to be sure, conspicuous by their very presence, but by and large, men of violence and morons constituted the rank and file, with all their vile habits and predatory proclivities.



Times Wide World

Lunch and rest period in the barracks at Fez, Morocco

Malcontents were there, and many men not citizens of France, who had enlisted in the Legion to serve France under arms and so prevent the sequestering of their fortunes. Men were enrolled with ranks under assumed appellations, whose real names would have furnished front page stories for Fleet Street, for the dailies of European capitals as well as our own papers, probably dividing honors between the social columns and the wanted dead-or-alive notices, for men flocked to the Legion for reasons best known to themselves and, as in our old frontier days, were accepted for what they proved to be. Names meant nothing, curiosity was not encouraged, and pasts remained veiled as being better left unrevealed. Here was a superb fighting machine when war clouds loomed, but a turbulent, troublesome outfit when peace prevailed.

Honor they had none; they were faithful to themselves alone. Bulgars, Russians, Annamite Negroes, Apaches, Spaniards, Germans and Armenians—honor and loyalty to say nothing of love for France, was too much to expect of such an aggregation, so half the motto sags badly. Add valor, however, and there is the beginning of

balance; throw in discipline, and the scales level off with astonishing promptness.

As a fine fighting force, the Legion rose through an ever-increasing series of campaigns over widely scattered areas, to heights of prominence in French military annals. In 1835-37 the Legion is mentioned as being disgusted with having to enter the Spanish peninsula to quell a tempest in a teapot—a campaign belittling their prowess. But then came the days when what is now French Indo-China, was being brought to heel by dint of prolonged and stubborn fighting, and Tonquin is a name in Legion records that marks one of the stepping-stones to fame.

In the Franco-Prussian War the Legion is mentioned, along with the Pontifical Zouaves, as covering the retreat of the French Army in October, 1870, with heavy losses. Then it went back to Algeria in 1871 to quell the Kabyles. After this it was permanently established as the main unit of French military might in Colonial Africa. There followed a record of sporadic fighting to bring the Arab to see the advantages of French exploitation, and this kept the Legion pretty fully equipped up to the opening of the World War.

In 1915 the Foreign Legion was cited in action on the battlefield of La Campagne from Souvain to Ferme Navarin; from Somme Pye to Butte Souvain, and at Arras. Again in the Gallipoli campaign the Legion saw action at Saloniki; then it returned to Africa to police its own bailiwick until 1925, when it went into action in Syria, where much transpired for a year or so.

All this is tribute to the *valeur* of their motto, a tribute fiercely earned and which none may take from them. The Legion has a splendid record of achievement; it is an organization that has always been shoved head first into the worst pitfalls laid for French arms by a benevolent government that saw but folly and wastage of fine French manhood in the risking of regular regiments of the line in such dangerous work. But that was what the Legion was for, and it stoically did the job with an eye to meticulous workmanship.

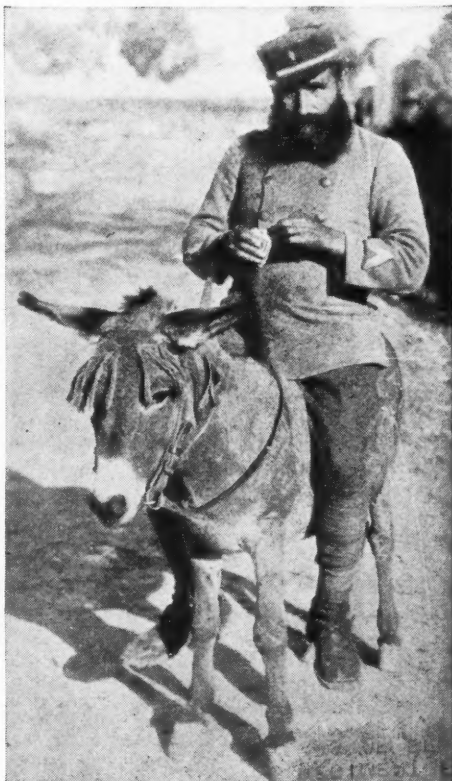
It is of interest to note that up to 1915, the Legion had always been rated as a social inferior to the regular French regiments of the line. This was rectified when action on the Western front resulted in the presentation of battle flags, and saw the Legion permanently raised to the level of France's finest.

Much of the odium which has tainted the Foreign Legion in the minds of the many, has arisen out of the confusion that persisted in linking the Legion with the military penal regiments alluded to as the "Zephyrs," though known as Biribi. The Legion is recruited entirely through voluntary enlistment, the Biribi by military court-martial. In a country where conscription obtains, the service gets its full quota of riffraf, as the recruits are called, to begin their period of military training. Though generally given every chance to serve with their various organizations, many usually wound up before a court-martial, and being proved incorrigible, were sent to the Biribi, which meant Northern Africa and hard labor. Their stay there was governed solely by their conduct. During peace-times they built roads under the broiling African sun;

under conditions of war they sometimes fought, though the stress had to be pretty urgent to risk arming such rabble, as that customarily resulted in the settling of grudges, with a proportionate loss of officers and personnel. Since the war these penal regiments have been disbanded, and military prisoners of this type now serve their sentences in civil prisons.

The Biribi were the bad actors of the French Army; the Foreign Legion the bad actors of the world, and many of the latter found their way into the ranks of the former, when they became too much of a problem for even the heavy-handed disciplinarians of the Legion.

Among the many items of interest pertaining to the Legion are those



Times Wide World

A veteran Legionnaire who is said to have survived thirty-two battles in Morocco and Algiers



Times Wide World

The French Foreign Legion in manoeuvres

details covering its organization as a potent arm of the French service. Formerly made up of two regiments of four battalions, each consisting of 1,000 men, it mustered a fighting strength of 8,000 service soldiers, in addition to which there was a band, depot brigade and other adjuncts. The battalions were formed of four companies of 250 men officered by a captain, a lieutenant, a sub-lieutenant, sergeant major, sergeants, sub-officer of accounts, and corporals. The men were grouped into first and second classes, promotions to corporal being made from the first class. By way of bringing the organization up to date, the size of the Legion has now been raised to four regiments with a fighting strength of 14,000 and today forms the nucleus of the French Nineteenth Army Corps.

First class men wore a red chevron as a badge of class distinction. Corporals wore two red chevrons, sergeants one gold chevron, and sergeant majors two gold chevrons. The uniforms issued were typical of the service: Uniform *en ville*—red woolen trousers, long blue coat, blue sash; full dress—red trousers, short blue coat, no sash; for Saturday reviews—white trousers and jacket, cartridge belt and bayonet; the old uniform *campagne d'Afrique*—white trousers, long coat and sash; this uniform

has since been replaced by khaki when the Legion is on active service.

The routine of the Legion includes, along with the Saturday review, Tuesday night marches, starting at 3:30 A. M. and returning to barracks about 9:30 A. M.; also Thursday manoeuvres comprising a march of twenty kilometers with field action. Enlistments are accepted at any recruiting office, always voluntary and for a period of five years, after which the Legionary is eligible to French citizenship. No French citizen can enlist in the Legion unless he has first served his compulsory period in some other branch of the French service. After three enlistments the Legionary can retire on pension.

The recruits, or "jeunes soldats" (young soldiers), were formerly sent to Sidi-bel-Abbes for training, but of late years the school has been permanently based at Saida. Here the "young soldier," be he an old Legionary re-enlisting or a raw recruit, is schooled in the drill and training of the Legion for an average period of three months before taking the oath of allegiance to France and joining his regiment, and it might be well to point out that the Foreign Legion is always at full strength, which, considered in the light of the facts concerning it, furnishes food for reflection.

There seems to persist a shadowy suspicion that the "discipline" part of the Legion's motto was added to a euphonious motto after the Legion's personnel began assuming the aspect of a Frankenstein monster. But there it is in word and deed, and looms large on the Legionary's horizon, for an organization made up of the many types it incorporates must be rigidly kept in hand, and nothing but merciless discipline will accomplish this. All minor infractions of the rules and regulations are handled by the sergeants, who have the power to mete out non-court-martial punishments, the two best known of these being *salle de police* and *garde à chambre*, both being restrictive, taking away from the Legionary's busy life that little spare time he is allotted and substituting additional labors in its place. A week or so of either proves mildly corrective.

Higher authority dispenses confinement to prison with the dubious distinction of wearing a prison uniform and occupying one's time with the filthiest tasks of the garrison—all this in addition of the oft-recounted pleasures of the average French prison. Desertion, financially and geographically well-nigh impossible, carries the penalty of death during periods of active service, and formerly consignment to the "Zephyrs" in times of peace, this latter penalty, with the abolishment of the "Zephyrs," now being replaced by a sentence of eight years in a French prison. A fine point obtains in the matter of desertion as to whether a state

of war or peace existed at the time of the offense, keeping in view the frequency of minor uprisings in a turbulent country.

When the Legion is on active duty, prison and garrison punishments are impossible; so there are called into service two forms of discipline which time has proved extremely efficacious. One, called *en silo*, consists in burying the offender up to the neck for a period of hours, the semi-suffocating weight of the earth, together with the victim's utter immovability, having a strong tendency to calm any effusiveness. Much more severe is the punishment of *en crapudine*. The offender's hands are tied behind his back, his ankles bound, and then forced to his knees, his hands are lashed to his ankles, pulling the body into an agonizingly unnatural position from which there is absolutely no relief. An hour or less of this usually results in cries for release which causes the victim to be gagged, and unconsciousness from this torture comes within two to four hours of the punishment. It goes without saying that the offender hesitates a long time before letting himself in for such agony a second time.

Like the Legions of old, the Foreign Legion has been a prodigious builder of roads, laying aside the rifle to take up the pick, a form of occupation that lends little glamour to the life. As for glamour, it may be said that though to the average person the Legion spells romance with the soldiering left out, to the average Legionary it spells soldiering with the romance left out.

The Meaning of an American College Degree

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

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AUCTORITATE MIHI COMMIS-
SA—During the recent commencement season that phrase has rolled throughout the country and is possibly the only example of a dead language understood by the parents of the young men and women graduates.

When it comes to the granting of degrees even a faculty is powerless; even the hooded president is powerless, and publicly announces that he acts "by authority to him committed." Whose is that authority and how does it come to decide upon what terms the graduates of our colleges shall receive the coveted sheepskin and the rights of a graduate?

This annual blossoming of degrees upon the tree of learning has in the last fifty years gone through a transition which is in itself a kind of history of American academic education. The degree of the early American colleges was A. B. (though the English called it B. A.), granted at the end of a four-year period of study for no other reason than that the ordinary English school period was four years. In course of time the practice arose of conferring the degree of A. M. upon those B. A.'s who had lived a brief number of years without having been sent to jail. The professional degree of M. D. and the kindred D. D. came much later, while the LL. B. is a comparatively recent creation. The early president, "by the authority committed to him," recognized only one earned degree, namely the A. B.

The modern batch of degrees which comes out of the academic oven every year includes a variety of earned de-

grees for college students including A. B., B. S. and Ph. D., and it is on record that an institution of assumed academic standing at one time bestowed the degree of M. W. W.—"Maid of Wax Works." Nobody would undertake to make up a list of all the alphabetical combinations denoting degrees found on the programs of American colleges.

What an academic degree really means depends upon a complex of intellectual forces. By common consent the A. B. is a degree based on evidence not only of memory and quickness of mind, but of ability to dish out to the professor the intellectual viands which originally came from his own table. No respectable institution grants the Ph. D. except upon a high record of intensive use of sources and of ability to state conclusions convincingly. That degree is one of the bulwarks of learning in our modern colleges. Nevertheless, in the long run the legal academic authority to decide upon the basis of a degree and on the status of the applicant for the degree is in the hands of the "authority." While faculties recommend for degrees, they are legally granted only by an *auctoritas* which may accept or reject the recommendations of the faculty. Furthermore, in any case it must pass upon all academic regulations as to the length and intensity of study, and what is even more important, as to the choice of studies.

When President Eliot in 1869 came forward with a proposition for an elective system, he first of all had to convert the members of the two governing boards coordinate in such matters; then he had the task of partly convert-

ing and partly coercing the members of the various faculties who were to administer the new educational system. It is on record that a professor in the Medical School protested against a requirement of written examinations because "the students in our medical school do not know how to write examination papers, and some of them do not know how to write at all."

Not every college president endeavoring to raise the standards of an institution is backed up by the ultimate legal authorities. Particularly is this true in the case of the governing boards of the State institutions of higher learning. Opinions differ as to who holds the ultimate authority in such public boards. Sometimes it is a very strong and vigorous resident trustee who becomes a sort of super-president; sometimes, as in the university of one rich Western State years ago, the *auctoritas*, especially as to appointments, is the secretary to the president. It has even been said of another State that the effective head of the system of numerous and important State educational institutions is the stenographer in the Governor's office. State legislative committees often have a very marked influence over public education, from the primary to the highest graduate schools. In general the public and private boards usually mean to give the presidents of the various institutions a fair chance, but presidential heads fall with notorious frequency. There are men who have been presidents of four important State institutions in as many States.

Academic boards of trustees are not very unlike the corporations that carry on great commercial enterprises. They choose a manager and hope and expect that he will make good. If he cannot get along with the faculty or, what is more important, cannot get on with the students, the result resembles a crisis in a commercial enterprise. An executive cannot get on with the hands; hence there must be a change. The dispossessed official may very likely get a better job elsewhere. He is not wiped off the slate.

Men of executive power, of force of character, of vision, are naturally wanted as heads of great institutions of learning. It is one of the highest professions open in the United States. A great university president may continue a lifetime and some of them make a second career at the head of another institution after being retired as too old. The hard and solid necessity is that the legally responsible *auctoritas* shall work in unison with the man of constructive mind; hence the critical question on commencement day is how many of the candidates for degrees shall be found approved when the president begins with his *auctoritate mihi commissa*.

In proportion as degrees are earned rather than arrived at, the burden of deciding who shall be approved is very serious. In most colleges the drones are weeded out along with the men and women who are physically unadapted to the struggle of life. There is an eerie story of a senior in an old-fashioned college years ago who never answered a single question in class throughout his four years except by the neutral "not prepared." Yet he was voted his degree by the faculty because he was "so faithful"—which meant that he never cut a class. The difficulty of the colleges is not so much weeding out poor students, as keeping them in by a wholesome system of education. The basis of education which satisfies most American *auctoritates* is a choice of studies, individual or group, in which the student may be expected to be reasonably proficient at the final test.

The foundation of modern academic studies in the United States is the English language, except for schools of divinity and for a small group of colleges for the children of immigrants in which their oversea language is continued as the medium of instruction. From the kindergarten up, all the good schools try to cultivate the use of direct and expressive language. Some Anglicists would have college students submitted to a discipline that would involve their crawling down into the foundations of the English tongue. The

usual college student, however, can make his way in English literature without any knowledge of Gothic or of Anglo-Saxon.

The next standard subject is science. Most academic colleges establish courses in modern science which include some knowledge of laboratory methods, and some very large universities will not grant degrees to any student, man or woman, who has had no science. Modern languages, on the other hand, have never appealed very strongly to *auctoritas*, so that no language, except Spanish in some parts of the country, is essential to the social or business success of American young men and women. For this reason most of the courses in European languages in American colleges are literary rather than practical.

The elastic, easy alterable and convenient elective system makes possible the dictum of a renowned American college president that "every student should know something about several subjects and a good deal about some subjects." That definition involves the high educative effect of a modern college course. As to the chronic sneer at conferring a degree based on soft courses, it is the business of *auctoritas* to eliminate soft courses and every right-minded college graduate is grateful for a course or courses in which the instructor reveals his subject and himself and insists on a detailed reading of books.

For various reasons *auctoritas* is much interested in a state of mind and body variously called "physical development," "athletics" or "bet your money on the old college." Any one

who can remember the pre-athletic days and the outdoor pursuits of that time, the hazings and the gate-nights and the defiance of the "Profs," is thankful for the present application of the physical force of college students. *Auctoritas*, on the whole, believes in and favors intercollegiate athletics. It is aware of the spirit revealed to a living dean of a great college who said that students complained of him "for treating a serious thing like football as though it were play." Outdoor life and sports and cheering for your team are as deeply fixed on the whole American public as were the gladiatorial combats in the Roman Empire and the furious rivalries of the Pinks and Blues over the horse races in the stadium of ancient Constantinople.

In no country and at no age has *auctoritas* been prone to look upon young men as little old men. *Auctoritas* can do a lot to place the rising generation, both boy and girl, next to the advantages of higher education. It can enact for them courses and systems of study which give them an opportunity of busying their minds with things that are worth while. It can decline to attest the sheepskins for those who fall below a reasonable academic standard. But it has not the power to withhold the actualities that have been gained by thousands of young men and women who for various reasons have not kept on a college course to the end. The man who has once been in an army never loses the effect of that contact with obligation and common service, and so with the college student. After all, *auctoritas* does his job reasonably well both for the graduate and the non-graduate.

Man's Place in the Universe

By WATSON DAVIS

MANAGING EDITOR, SCIENCE SERVICE, WASHINGTON

THE EGOTISTIC prescientific idea that man is the centre of the universe and that the whole of creation revolves about him and exists for his special benefit is a favorite conception in primitive psychology and religion. Galileo's telescope began to make it old-fashioned, and in these Einsteinian days, while the thought of man penetrates to the end of space and time, his physical entity occupies an insignificant place on a mere grain of sand in an immensely large scheme of material things.

There may be some relief to the feeling of inferiority that this condition engenders when Professor John Q. Stewart of Princeton arranges the masses of the material universe and finds that man takes a place in about the middle of the scale of mass in the universe. Professor Stewart's list illustrates the range of masses in the material universe. The mass of each item is about a million times smaller than the one preceding it. The list follows: The known material universe, a large spiral nebula, a very large star, a good-sized planet, an ocean, a mountain peak, a forest, man, a butterfly, a paramcium, a bacterium, the largest organic molecules, a few score electrons, a quantum of ultraviolet light.

"The total range of mass represented is something like a trillion decillion decillion, with man about in the middle," Professor Stewart observes. "The physicists deal with the lower, the astronomers with the upper reaches. These two sciences have vastly extended our knowledge of the material universe, and doubtless will continue to push outward its boundaries (although there are mathematical physicists who believe that something like a maximum limit to the size of space will present itself). Literary men and artists being

familiar with only a small range of the whole, the general public is without an adequate guide book to the universe. In the regions north of oceans and south of butterflies only the scientific men know their way around. The earth occupies only one part in perhaps a billion sextillion sextillion of the volume of space at present under study by astronomers."

Philosophically and physically the knowledge of the construction of what our eyes see as the material stuff of the universe races onward. Professor Albert Einstein predicted to the Second World Power Conference in Berlin that space will finally survive as the sole carrier of reality. Professor Einstein traced the evolution of man's ideas of the constitution of the universe from the days of the old Euclidean geometry which gave a notion of space based on the relations of bodies in connection with each other. Descartes was the first to introduce space as the general container of the universe, Professor Einstein declared. The picture of space as seen by Newton did suffice, he said, to describe physical relations until Maxwell introduced his field theory of electromagnetic waves upon which the whole of modern electrical development has been based. The fact that electromagnetism acts at a distance made the conception and notion of an ether necessary. But Professor Einstein, destroyer of the necessity for an ether, explained that by means of the relativity theory space loses its generality and its structure must be regarded as changeable. There is analogously to Reimann's geometry a mathematical space structure possible wherein metric continuity and direction are united in a four-dimensional reality. Space was originally derived from physical bodies. This space has annihilated the ether and time.

Professor Einstein is now engaged in the formulation of newly developed generalizations which promise to annihilate fields of force, corpuscle and material particles in such a way that the fundamental stuff of the universe will prove to be, not matter as previously supposed, but space itself.

Professor Arthur H. Compton of the University of Chicago, Nobel Prize winner, in a recent address before the American Physical Society, described the way in which the arrangement of electrons within the atoms themselves had been discovered. "Several weeks ago I noticed a beautiful halo around the moon," he said. "Half an hour later the halo was visibly smaller in diameter, and it was no surprise when a few hours later rain began to fall. The interpretation of such haloes, as due to the diffraction of the moonlight by droplets of water suspended in the air, is well known. The larger the droplet the smaller the angle of diffraction necessary for the appropriate phase difference between the rays coming from the two sides of the drop. So by observing the diameter of the halo, we can estimate the size of the water drops which cause it. A shrinking halo means a growing drop, and hence probable rain.

"In a very similar manner it is possible to find the size of molecules and atoms in a gas by observing the diffraction haloes produced when they are traversed by a beam of X-rays. For many years it has been possible by this method to make rough estimates of the sizes of the atoms; but only very recently has the theory of the process become well understood, and the experimental technique become sufficiently developed to give us precise information regarding the electron distribution in atoms. When we review the many atomic theories that have been proposed and discarded, it may perhaps appear too bold to say that the particular theory now in vogue has any finality. One by one the vortex ring atom of Kelvin, the positively charged jelly of Thomson, the minute solar systems of Rutherford, Bohr and Sommerfeld,

as well as the tiny atoms of Crehore, the ring electron atoms of Parson, and the cubic atom of Lewis and Langmuir, have given way to more promising successors. We replace even Schrödinger's diffuse cloud of negative electricity by a probability cloud of electrons after the manner of Heisenberg. It now appears, however, that the only one of these many proposals which can account for the observed X-ray diffraction haloes is that of Heisenberg."

Definite proof that Pluto, the planetary object discovered this Spring by Lowell Observatory astronomers, is really a planet revolving beyond the orbit of Neptune, has been obtained by astronomers at the Mount Wilson Observatory, Pasadena, Cal. Because of the slow motion of the planet, all the observations made of it since its discovery have not been sufficient to permit an accurate calculation of its orbit. Discovery of several photographic plates taken in 1919 on which the planet was recorded has given the Mount Wilson astronomers the material for a much more precise determination of the planet's path. Dr. Seth B. Nicholson and N. U. Mayall have calculated the orbit and find that Pluto revolves around the sun once in a year equal to 251.8 of ours. The eccentricity of its orbit is .25, which means that it is an ellipse not very far from circular. According to the Mount Wilson calculations, Pluto is approaching the sun and will be closest on June 5, 1988. Then it will be 2,700,000,000 miles away from the sun, about the same distance as that of Neptune, furthest known planet until Pluto's discovery.

The new planet, Pluto, known as Planet X before its christening by its discoverers, has a juvenile godmother in the person of an 11-year-old girl of Oxford, England, Miss Venetia Burney. Shortly after the discovery of the new planet by Lowell Observatory, Professor H. H. Turner, the Oxford astronomer, cabled to Professor V. M. Slipher, director, Miss Burney's suggestion that the planet be named Pluto, and in the official announcement of the naming Professor Slipher acknowledges the

suggestion as the first to be received. Minerva was another popular suggestion, but as it has long been used for one of the asteroids, this prevented the new planet from bearing the name of the goddess of wisdom. Professor Slipher suggests that a fitting symbol to go with the name will be a device made of the two first letters of the name Pluto capitalized, an L partially superimposed on a P. Incidentally, these are the initials of the late Professor Percival Lowell, whose studies inaugurated the search that resulted in the discovery of Pluto.

The government is preparing to heap long overdue laurels upon genius, hard work and bravery in the field of science. A bill in Congress will allow the President to decorate men and women who, while in the employ of the Federal Government, have "made outstanding contributions to the advancement of scientific knowledge or the application of its truths in a practical way for the welfare of the human race and to citizens who, while in the employ of the Federal Government, have rendered conspicuous service to humanity at the voluntary risk of life or health over and above the ordinary risks of duty." There will be two medals. For the scientist who has made a specific contribution to the knowledge of the world there will be the Thomas Jefferson Medal of Honor for Distinguished Work in Science. This medal is named after the President of the United States who was an early patron of science, engaged in some scientific work and sent Lewis and Clark on their famous explorations. The Jesse W. Lazear Medal of Honor for Distinguished Self-Sacrifice for Humanity will be the medal which would be awarded to those who risk life and health bravely that the cause of science may be advanced. This medal is named after the doctor who, as a member of the famous Yellow Fever Commission, allowed an infected mosquito to bite him and give him a fatal case of the disease, which was conquered through

the information that this and similar heroic sacrifices gave to medical science. Only three medals in each class will be awarded each year by terms of this bill, and the National Academy of Sciences will pass on names recommended to it by heads of departments and independent offices of the government. It is conceivable that one person might be awarded both medals, either in one year, or in different years. The honored persons receiving these medals and decorations would, in addition, receive \$1,000 each.

An artificial "whispering gallery" is one of the latest improvements in talking movies. It is a device which makes it possible to focus the microphone on the speakers and shut out extraneous sounds. The device is really a searchlight turned backwards and using sound instead of light. A searchlight reflector has the shape known as a paraboloid. Light radiating from a point known as the focus is reflected in a parallel beam. The reflector also works backwards. If a parallel beam of light, as from a very distant object, falls squarely on the reflector, the light is concentrated at the focus. Searchlight mirrors have actually been used this way with sunlight to obtain high temperatures for experimental purposes. A reflecting telescope used by astronomers works the same way.

Waves of sound can also be concentrated by a parabolic reflector, and this is the principle of the beam microphone. A metal reflector about five feet in diameter is used, with the usual condenser microphone placed in the centre at the focus. Around the outer edge is a cylinder of felt to shut out most of the sound that would come across the edge of the reflector. In use, the beam microphone is mounted in trunnions on a stand similar to those used for the large lights for illuminating the studio. It can be aimed at the actors, whose voices are picked up and intensified, while other sounds, if not too loud, are largely eliminated.

Byrd's Scientific Achievement in the Antarctic

By GRIFFITH TAYLOR

PROFESSOR OF GEOGRAPHY, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO; SENIOR GEOLOGIST AND LEADER OF THE WESTERN PARTIES IN SCOTT'S LAST EXPEDITION

THE RESULTS of an Antarctic expedition may be summed up under three main heads: (1) additions to the world map; (2) major contributions to the technique of exploration; (3) advances in science. In all these Byrd's expedition has made outstanding discoveries.

Probably the layman is mainly concerned with the first class, and indeed many people were only interested in the question as to whether Byrd would succeed in reaching the South Pole through the air. To most explorers and geographers this was in itself of relatively little importance, but the journey became of the greatest value because of the aerial survey made by Captain McKinley. We are told that Byrd hesitated in his decision—for the presence of the photographer and his camera reduced the "lift" of the airplane by 1,000 feet. He is to be congratulated that this risk was taken; and hence a survey of the whole route, 800 miles long and up to 100 miles wide, was made on each side of the airplane course. This addition to the world chart is surely one of the major accomplishments of the expedition.

Two other surveys of great importance were carried out from the air. The actual breaking edge of the Ross Ice Shelf has been charted by camera for about 200 miles at its eastern end. Its surface with its varied crevasses and undulations was also photographed in detail. Since this floating structure covers some 100,000 square miles and has no counterpart in the world, it is clear that such a wealth of detail will be invaluable to geographers and other scientists.

The greatest accomplishment as regards the charting of entirely new lands occurred to the northeast of Little

America. Scott in 1902 had seen Queen Alexandra Range (A in diagram) when he penetrated the pack beyond the east end of the Ross Ice Barrier (the free edge of the Ross Ice Shelf). But nothing was known of the hinterland. Byrd made several flights in this direction, notably one on the Dec. 5, 1929, which threw a flood of light on the structure of this least known region in Antarctica. Behind the Alexandra Range a new range consisting of fourteen rocky peaks was discovered. This was called the Rockefeller Range, and it rose to about 2,000 feet. Somewhat east of these mountains runs the 150 degrees west meridian, which is the eastern boundary of the Ross Dependency, belonging to Britain. Just on the boundary they discovered a sharp peak which they called the Matterhorn. (The writer also gave the chief peak in his survey of the Taylor Glacier on the western boundary of the Ross Dependency the same name in 1911. Such repetition of names is unsatisfactory.)

Still further to the northeast Byrd discovered a remarkable fiord just beyond the British limits—which seems to penetrate far into the continent and separates Alexandra Mountains from a huge mountain scarp, 250 miles from Little America. This scarp attains a height of 10,000 feet and seems to form the rim of an ice-capped plateau. This is an entirely unexpected feature and has many scientific implications. The simplest explanation is that the whole Ross Sea area is a "sunken block" (or graben) of the earth's crust, and that this new scarp therefore corresponds to the similar scarp on the western side of the Ross Ice Shelf. (See diagram.)*

*The structure of the Antarctic Continent is discussed at length in the writer's recent book, *Antarctic Adventure and Research*. New York, 1930.

Turning now to achievements in science apart from cartography, we may first consider the geological work. Here the site of Winter quarters was not fortunate. There was no rock visible nearer than the Rockefeller Range, whereas at MacMurdo Sound (see diagram) the Scott Expedition had several hundred square miles of rock within a reasonable distance of their hut. However, Gould flew across to the Rockefeller Range and made a survey of the rocks. They are apparently granite like those in the base of the mountains west of MacMurdo Sound. His plane was wrecked by a sudden blizzard and the party was rescued by Byrd in another plane. In the second Summer Gould sledged 440 miles to the south to reach the great scarp first seen by Amundsen in 1911. We have not yet received details of his survey, but it is recorded that he discovered carbonaceous (coaly) sandstones some 6,000 feet up the cliffs of Mount Fridtjof Nansen. (This is not to be confused with Mount Nansen on the northwest coast of the Ross Sea). It seems clear therefore that the coal measures, already identified at the northwest corner of the Beardmore

Glacier by Wild, and at the Mackay Glacier by the writer's party in 1911, extend at least 200 miles east of Wild's discovery. The extent of coal locked up in this great continent has often been discussed. Sir Edgeworth David has suggested that it may constitute one of the world's greatest coalfields.

It does not appear that Gould has discovered fossils in his carbonaceous beds. Those brought back by Wilson from near the Pole, and found near his body in 1912, prove that in Permian times there was an abundant growth of ferns within 400 miles of the present South Pole. Since no single fern or flowering plant grows anywhere within the Antarctic Circle today, this indicates a remarkable change in environment in polar regions.

A most important discovery made by Byrd, and confirmed by Gould, is the absence of Carmen Land, which was placed on the map by Amundsen in 1912. This is shown on some authoritative atlases as 600 to 1,200 metres high, and it shut in the Ross Ice Shelf on its southeast side (near the name Gould on the diagram). Its discovery seemed to disprove the theory advocated by J. W. Gregory and

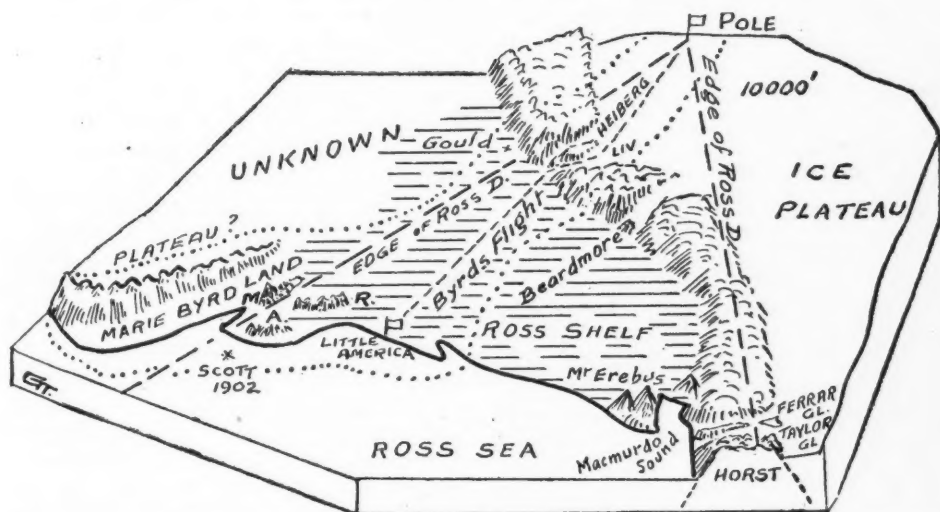


Diagram of Ross Ice Shelf (shown within dotted line), the area surveyed and largely explored by Admiral Byrd. This area is about 1,200 miles long. Alexandra, Matterhorn and Rockefeller Ranges are shown by A, M and R. The limits of the British Ross dependency are shown

later by the writer that a low tract or possibly a strait connected the Ross Sea with the opposite coast of Antarctica at the Weddell Sea. In January, 1912, the German, Filchner, discovered an ice shelf at the head of the Weddell Sea, which perhaps lent support to the "strait" hypothesis. Amundsen's Carmen Land seemed to negative the idea. Now Byrd's results reopen the whole question. It is as if we were exploring the United States and did not know if the Gulf of St. Lawrence extended to the bay of San Francisco—or if a huge range of Rocky Mountains lay between! (Let us not forget that the Antarctic Continent is probably nearly twice as large as the United States). Gould sledged 100 miles along the foot of the great scarp until he was well outside the British Dependency. His party is thus the first to set foot in this region, which has been claimed for the United States.

If any criticism of Byrd is warranted, it is perhaps that there were so few scientists in his large party of forty-two men. There seems to have been no biologist and only one geologist, whereas Scott had three geologists and four biologists. However, Byrd had two meteorologists and they kept careful records of the weather and of the aurorae. Observations of magnetic storms were also made, while upper air records were obtained, which are greatly to be desired from Antarctic stations.

It is in the third section, in that of the technique of exploration, that Byrd made some of his greatest contributions to our knowledge. It is clear that he wished to test very thoroughly the use of the airplane in such an inclement environment. On an earlier occasion the writer expressed his opinion (in the *London Times*) that Byrd has not perhaps chosen the best centre for a large expedition, since he might have gone to a totally new region. It is now evident that Byrd wisely picked on the calmest accessible headquarters so as

to give his four airplanes a chance to prove their worth. It is abundantly clear that he has done so. His wonderful flight on Nov. 28 was not handicapped by evil weather, and this is the more remarkable as he chose the very beginning of the exploring season. His chance of a favorable flight would have been better in January. There was an interesting exchange of help between Gould's sledging party near the foot of the Scarp far to the south and the airplane at headquarters before its grand flight. Gould wirelessly back news of good weather at the great scarp 450 miles away from the hut. Byrd flew over them and dropped photographs of the ranges Gould was going to survey which Byrd had taken on a recent trial flight to the scarp. This sort of co-operation is going to mean a very great deal in future Antarctic exploration.

The value of the radio has been greatly emphasized by the work done at Little America. Mawson was the pioneer in this work in 1912 when (at the end of his sojourn in Adelie Land) he managed to get his wireless messages through to Australia. Byrd's wireless has been readily heard all over the world, not at infrequent intervals but throughout the whole sojourn of the expedition in the South. We are led to expect from Byrd's experts very valuable data regarding conditions of wirelessing over long distances and under the handicap of six months of darkness. Curiously enough, the "long Winter night" seems to break up that mysterious "Heavyside Layer" high up in the atmosphere, from which wireless is reflected round the world. However, for these and countless other details, the scientific world awaits with eager interest the publication of Byrd's records in full. There is no doubt in the writer's mind that, quite apart from the aerial conquest of the Pole, this ranks as one of the great expeditions of the Antarctic.

Aerial Events of the Month

THE AERIAL adventures of the Australian airman, Major Charles Kingsford-Smith, and his Fokker plane, the Southern Cross, have become epic. During June and July, he completed what he calls his "round-the-world flight," a flight which began with the crossing of the Pacific in 1928.

After nearly three weeks of waiting for good weather, Major Kingsford-Smith, with E. M. Van Dyke, relief pilot; Captain J. P. Saul, navigator, and J. W. Stannave, wireless operator, took off from Port Marnock, Ireland, on the evening of June 23, to make the second successful westward crossing of the North Atlantic. The Bremen made the first crossing in 1928 but failed to reach American territory and made a forced landing in Labrador. The Australian and his companions were determined to reach New York. By constant radio contact with radio receiving stations in the United States and Great Britain and with steamships on the course the world kept in touch with the fliers, while the latter received their bearings as well as reports on weather conditions. This latter was particularly important because of fog during the greater part of the trip, and because of magnetic conditions, not yet understood, off the coast of Newfoundland making the compasses inaccurate and at variance with the direction finders. On June 25, after thirty-one hours of flying, and after two or three hours off Newfoundland, where the plane lost its course and made almost no headway, the fliers finally found their bearings. At the same time fuel was running low and the plane therefore was landed at Harbor Grace, Newfoundland. On June 26 it took off again for New York and landed at Roosevelt Field late the same day.

The Southern Cross originally belonged to Sir Hubert Wilkins, who used it for Arctic exploration. Since it has come into the hands of Kingsford-

Smith he has made with it his great flight across the Pacific from California to Australia with stops at Hawaii and the Fiji Islands, and a record-making flight from Australia to England. On its last flight, westward over the Atlantic, the plane faced chiefly the dangers of strong head winds, as the prevailing winds are westerly, of fog, and as it later developed, of unexpected magnetic conditions, on account of which Major Kingsford-Smith considered that only the constant radio communication with vessels below kept the plane on its course. This was the first westward flight in which reliance was placed on the radio, a fact of great value to the future of aviation. Whether or not the northern course will ever be possible for regular commercial aviation is still unproved.

After being welcomed by New York and received in Washington by President Hoover, the fliers of the Southern Cross took off on July 2 for the Pacific Coast, the last lap of the world flight. With stops at Chicago and Salt Lake City, they reached the Oakland airport in California on July 4.

While Major Kingsford-Smith was making his hazardous trip, two young aviators in Chicago, with the cooperation of their entire family, were on the way toward a new refueling endurance record. John and Kenneth Hunter, in a second-hand plane, the City of Chicago, on June 30 equaled and broke the record set by the St. Louis Robin a year ago. The plane went into the air on June 11; on June 30 it had been in the air 441 hours, twenty-one hours longer than the record. The refueling contacts were made by a plane piloted and managed by two other Hunter brothers, who brought with the fuel food for the fliers prepared by the Hunter sister. On July 4 the City of Chicago landed; it had set a record of nearly 554 hours in the air.

June was a month of record and non-stop flights. The transcontinental rec-

ords, between Jacksonville, Fla., and San Diego, were broken on June 17 and 18. The fliers, Edward F. Schlee and William A. Brock, in a Lockheed-Vega monoplane, also broke by thirteen hours the ocean to ocean record set by Captain Frank Hawks. The latter flight, however, was over a longer route. From east to west, the fliers made a non-stop record, covering 2,112 miles, in 13 hours and 55 minutes. On the return trip, which took 16 hours and 50 minutes, and also established a new record, storms forced them to land at Tallulah, La., for more fuel. The total elapsed time of the round trip was 31 hours and 58 minutes.

One of the most interesting flights of the month was the non-stop voyage of Roger Q. Williams, Errol Boyd and Lieutenant H. P. Connor, in the Belanca monoplane *Columbia*, from New York to Bermuda and back. The flight was made to test the possibilities of Amphibian passenger service between New York and Bermuda. The fliers took off from Roosevelt Field at 5 o'clock on the morning of June 29, and returned the same day to land at Cur-

tiss Airport after covering 1,560 miles in 17 hours and 1 minute. They circled the plane over Hamilton, Bermuda, at 2:20 P. M., dodged storms over Bermuda and turned back to the United States. The *Columbia* is the second plane to be flown from the United States to Bermuda, the first, flown by Captain Yancey and his companions, having been forced to land on water and to spend a night drifting before taking off again. This flight, it is said, proves unquestionably the feasibility of regular commercial service over that route.

The last non-stop flight of importance during June was that made by the Mexican aviator, Colonel Robert Fierro. In a Lockheed *Sirius* plane, a duplicate of the model in which Colonel Lindbergh recently broke the west-east transcontinental record, Colonel Fierro took off from Roosevelt Field on June 21. He reached Valbuena Flying Field outside Mexico City 16 hours and 33 minutes after his take-off. His course was practically the same as that followed by Colonel Lindbergh on his non-stop flight to Mexico two years ago.

A MONTH'S HISTORY OF THE NATIONS

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

By JOHN B. WHITTON

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AFTER LENGTHY and delicate negotiations, so prolonged as to cause considerable anxiety, the agreements necessary for the flotation of the first Young plan loan were signed in Paris on June 10. Representative bankers of nine countries signed six documents, which included a general contract, a bond agreement, a statement by the German Finance Minister, and nine prospectuses—one for each country participating in the loan. Thus was crowned with success the series of meetings begun at Brussels on May 3, and the \$300,000,000 loan was ready to be launched.

A few days later the bonds were floated in nine countries. The respective allotments, in total productive values, were as follows: In the United States, \$98,250,000; Germany, 36,000,000 reichsmarks; Belgium, 35,000,000 belgas; France, 2,155,000,000 francs; Great Britain, £12,000,000; Holland, 73,000,000 florins; Italy, 110,000,000 lire; Sweden, 110,000,000 kronor, and Switzerland, 92,000,000 francs. The proceeds of the loan will be distributed as follows: To France, \$132,215,000; Germany, \$100,000,000; Great Britain, \$50,000,000; Italy, \$13,105,000; Japan, \$2,060,000; Yugoslavia, \$1,872,000; Portugal, \$748,000. Germany will use her quota for internal improvements, while the other countries receive their shares on reparation account. Great Britain, faithful to the policy set out

in the Balfour note, will apply her share of the proceeds to her American war debt.

This loan, one of the largest international issues in history, has been hailed as marking the final settlement of the reparations question, particularly because of its transfer from the political to the commercial field. It is the culmination of the work begun by the Young committee in January, 1929, and with some modifications accepted by the governments at The Hague. It was likewise the first step in the mobilization of the unconditional portion of the German reparation payments under the Young plan.

The share of the United States was offered for subscription on June 12 by a syndicate of leading financial houses under the direction of J. P. Morgan & Co., who had already obtained from the State Department formal approval of the flotation of the loan in this country. The issue was called "The German Government International 5½ per cent loan, 1930," and was offered at 90 with accrued interest, to yield 6.20 per cent, and maturing in thirty-five years. It was quickly subscribed. Orders were received from 900 to 1,000 banks and investment houses in the country for the loan, which opened at 91, and reached a high of 91¼. Despite the success of the loan, it was announced that J. P. Morgan & Co. would not subscribe to future reparation loans of this character.

The loan had a similar reception elsewhere. It was particularly successful in France, where it was offered at 98 because legally tax free, and was oversubscribed at least five times. The response in Germany was greater than had been anticipated, and the German share was oversold three times. The British portion was heavily oversubscribed three hours after the lists had been opened. In all the other countries interested the loan was quickly disposed of. Thus the second important operation in the launching of the World Bank—the first being the allotment of the initial part of the capital stock—was completed with outstanding success.

At their meeting at Basle on June 16 the board of directors of the World Bank decided to invite twelve more central banks of Europe to subscribe to its capital stock. Each of these countries would be permitted to take stock in the sum of \$2,000,000, which is the maximum already fixed for Sweden, Switzerland and Holland. Two of the invited States, Yugoslavia and Portugal, must, however, first place their currencies legally upon a gold basis. Furthermore, the World Bank is prepared to aid these two nations in effecting this reform, and thus the bank took the first step toward carrying out some of the purposes for which it was established, the promotion of the financial stability and well-being of nations generally throughout the world. The bank issued its first monthly statement on July 5, showing that only 6 per cent of its assets are invested at longer than six months and thus emphasizing extreme liquidity. The statement also showed that the purely business side of the bank is growing rapidly, a fact evidenced by the deposits of the central banks already equaling the reparations account.

The action taken by the United States Senate upon the London Naval Treaty is reviewed elsewhere in this issue. We only note here certain international aspects of this matter. Attacks on the treaty in the Senate provoked the contention that Article XIX, relat-

ing to the replacement of cruisers, was equivocal; under it a State might claim the right, it was argued, to replace a 6-inch cruiser with one of the 8-inch category. At the suggestion of Senators Robinson and Reed on June 5, an exchange of notes took place between our government and those of Japan and Great Britain. In these notes the matter was clarified by a definite statement that a cruiser of one class could be replaced only by a cruiser of the same category.

In Japan the resignation on June 11 of Admiral Kato, chief of the Naval General Staff and member of the Supreme War Council, immensely strengthened the government's firm policy in favor of the treaty. Admiral Kato, an enemy of the treaty, had maintained that the government had approved the treaty without properly consulting the Naval General Staff. He was replaced by Admiral Shoshin Taniguchi, and this event, following closely the removal of two other opponents of ratification, the Vice Minister of the Navy and the Assistant Chief of the Naval Staff, appeared to assure the approval of the treaty, despite some further opposition anticipated in the Privy Council.

On June 12 the Dutch Senate ratified the project for revising the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, together with the other documents facilitating the adherence of the United States to the World Court. In the course of the debate on this matter the policy of this country toward the World Court and the peaceful settlement of disputes received severe criticism from certain eminent jurists. This was also the case when, the same day, the Senate ratified the new arbitration treaty with the United States. Professor Anema of Amsterdam stated that he could not understand how a country of America's civilization, traditions and position could make arbitration treaties which are so far below the standard of treaties of this kind concluded in the last ten years.

During the month it became increasingly evident that the nations of

Europe are backing Aristide Briand's suggestion of a European Federal Union. Spain and Holland have replied favorably and Italy has answered the Briand memorandum in an elaborate note. While the other nations of Europe have still to make definite answers, the indications are of a general attendance at the discussions in September.

The evacuation of the Rhineland was completed on June 30 by the French in full compliance with earlier promises. The clearing of the Rhine of foreign troops, five years before the date fixed by the peace treaties, was an event of no ordinary importance. It ended a situation which, dangerous at all times to Franco-German relations, postponed that reconciliation now sincerely desired by both peoples. It marked the "liquidation" of the bitter issues left by the war and was the logical consequence of the Locarno treaties and the Young plan. It crowned with success the courageous and far-seeing policy pursued by M. Briand and the late Herr Stresemann. Both French and German newspapers, with few exceptions, treated the evacuation as the dawn of a new era.

Unfortunately, sporadic outbursts of revenge against alleged separatists who

wanted to see the Rhineland detached from Germany during the days following the war occurred in some of the evacuated towns. Coming on the heels of the passage by the Reichstag of a general amnesty bill and earlier promises of amnesty, these excesses aroused feeling in France to a high pitch. Particularly did the papers of the Right exploit the incidents to enforce their old refrain that evacuation of the Rhineland compromised French security without sufficient compensation. As a result, the negotiations for a settlement of the Saar region were broken off. The *Journal des Débats* said: "We shall not cease to repeat that the evacuation of the Rhine marks the beginning of a new epoch which will be most difficult for France. Most grievous news reaches us from the Rhineland concerning reprisals taken on all independent-minded Rhinelanders. It is easy to imagine the uncertainty in which this leaves the people of the Saar and even the fears they have for their future security. This alone should be enough for us to refuse to abandon the Saar and to wait until the Saar people themselves decide by plebiscite in 1935."

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

AN IMPORTANT contribution to the cause of arbitration was made by France during the past month when, by an overwhelming majority, her Chamber of Deputies voted favorably upon the general act of arbitration approved by the League Assembly in 1928. The four chapters of this comprehensive measure deal, respectively, with conciliation, judicial settlement, arbitration and general provisions, and it is binding among its signatories. Only three nations (Belgium, Denmark and Norway) had previously acceded to the general act in its entirety, though Sweden has acceded to Chapters I, II and IV. It is felt that the example of France, in

thus taking the lead among the great powers, will do much to hasten widespread commitment on the part of other governments to this system for settling disputes.

Favorable action was also taken by the French Chamber on the Optional Clause, providing for compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice over certain types of judicial questions. Twenty-seven nations are now bound by this clause, and France's ratification, when completed by action of her Senate, will make her the twenty-eighth. Progress has also been made during the month toward ratification of the World Court protocols—the one providing for revision of

the statute and the other containing the formula for American adherence. New Zealand, Portugal and Siam acceded to both these instruments and they were passed upon favorably in the Dutch Senate and the French Chamber of Deputies.

Among treaties recently registered with the Secretariat of the League are the treaty of conciliation, judicial settlement and arbitration between Estonia and Czechoslovakia, treaties for pacific settlement of disputes between Poland and Spain, France and the Netherlands, and Switzerland and Czechoslovakia, and the accord signed at Istanbul on June 10 between Turkey and Greece.

Immediately after the extraordinary session on Palestine (referred to elsewhere in this magazine), the Mandates Commission, in its regular session, studied the annual reports of the mandatory powers for Tanganyika (Great Britain, mandatory), New Guinea (Australia), Togoland, Syria and Lebanon (France) and Southwest Africa (South Africa). At the beginning of the session news came of the British Government's acceptance of the Hilton Young report, providing for the consolidation, in certain respects, of the administration of the mandated area of Tanganyika with the near-by colonies of Kenya and Uganda. Although this matter was not touched upon officially, it caused much discussion among members of the commission, one of the reactions being German apprehension lest these steps taken by the British might make more difficult the reapportionment of the mandates desired by the Germans.

Along economic lines constructive work was accomplished by the league in June. The Economic Committee studied the recommendations embodied in the protocol for future negotiations adopted by the tariff truce conference in March and took measures for special expert examination of nine questions dealing with international tariffs and practices, with a view to preparing whatever commercial conventions might seem advisable. The results of

these investigations will be brought before the committee at its meeting in the Fall. On June 18 the Norwegian Government ratified the commercial convention resulting from the tariff truce conference, this being the first ratification of the convention.

During the month it looked as if the convention for the abolition of import and export prohibitions and restrictions, signed in 1927, had fallen upon hard times. Eleven of the signatories acceded to it on the condition that it be brought into force by certain other signatories by July 1, 1930. The time-limit for ratification, originally set for May 31, was extended to June 20 at the request of Poland and Czechoslovakia. On June 19 Poland gave notice of inability to ratify at present. Czechoslovakia had already requested a further extension of the time-limit. Germany announced that she would withdraw from the agreement because these two countries had failed to ratify. However, on June 25, Czechoslovakia telegraphed the League that both chambers of the Parliament had approved the convention and also the supplementary agreement of July 11, 1928, contingent upon ratification by Germany, Poland and various other States. The United States, Great Britain, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway and Portugal are bound by the convention up to June 30, 1931, but may withdraw at any subsequent time.

The Conference for Unification of Laws on Bills of Exchange, Promissory Notes and Cheques concluded its sessions on June 7. Three draft conventions were adopted: one providing uniform regulations for bills of exchange and promissory notes; one providing for settlement of certain conflicts in present laws governing bills of exchange and promissory notes, and the third dealing with stamp laws in connection with bills of exchange and promissory notes. The subject of cheques was left for a later session.

From June 10 to 17 the Gold Delegation held its second session, which was devoted to the study of the current and prospective supply of and demand

for gold. George E. Roberts, vice president of the National City Bank of New York, was among the members present.

The fourteenth session of the International Labor Conference met at Geneva from June 10 to 28, with a record attendance of fifty-one of the fifty-five member nations, and official observers from Mexico and Turkey, non-members of the organization. There were three important questions before the gathering. A draft convention undertaking to suppress "forced labor" in all its forms within the shortest possible time was passed by a vote of 93 to 0, although France and some other governments, as well as many employers' delegates, abstained from voting. A convention establishing an eight-hour day for "white collar" workers (not including those in hotels, restaurants, theatres, and so forth) was also adopted, 86 to 31. It was on the third item, the convention for limiting the hours of coal miners to 7¾ per day, that the discussion waxed most heated. On its second reading, on June 26, the convention was passed, in spite of the solid opposition of the employers' representatives and those of four governments (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia). But on the final reading, with a two-thirds majority necessary, Germany and several other governments following her lead withdrew their support, and the measure failed. It will come up again at next year's session.

The International Federation of League of Nations Societies held its fourteenth plenary congress at Geneva. National organizations from twenty-three countries, including the League

of Nations Association of the United States, were represented. The various phases of League work were discussed and resolutions adopted for formal presentation to the League Assembly in September.

A noteworthy League appointment during June was that of Thanassis Aghnides of Greece as director of the disarmament section of the secretariat. He replaces M. Erik Colban, who left in July to become Norwegian Minister to Paris. M. Aghnides has been a member of the secretariat since 1920, and was formerly director of the press bureau of the Greek Legation at London.

Albania is the latest government to appoint a permanent delegate to the League.

The health section of the League in June collaborated in two ways with Latin-American countries, first, in the technical preparation of the South American Serological Conference, organized by the Prophylactic Syphilitic Institute of Montevideo, Uruguay, to be held next September; and, second, by convening, at the invitation of Peru, a conference of experts on the protection of infant life, to take place at Lima during the sixth Pan-American Conference on Child Welfare.

That the League is no less air-minded than the rest of the world these days is proved by the first international conference of civilian aviation experts under the auspices of the transit section at Geneva. The obstacles confronting air transit and methods to eliminate them are being studied; and prominent experts, including Colonel Lindbergh and Dr. Eckener, are cooperating on various phases of the problem.

THE UNITED STATES

THE SEVENTY-FIRST CONGRESS, which met in special session on April 15, 1929, and adjourned its second session on July 3, will go down in history for two reasons: first, it passed many important laws, and, second, it marked an

increasingly bitter conflict between the Senate and the President.

The Congress dealt with an imposing number of national problems and failed to legislate on a less imposing number. Conspicuous in the latter category are the question of Muscle Shoals and the

unemployment crisis. In the former are the following legislative enactments:

1. The McNary-Haugen bill creating a Federal Farm Board to promote co-operative marketing, &c.

2. The Smoot-Hawley bill revising the tariff upward.

3. A bill transferring enforcement of prohibition from the treasury to the Department of Justice in accordance with the Wickersham recommendations.

4. The rivers and harbors bill inaugurating a fifteen-year development program to cost \$144,881,902.

5. The Johnson bill establishing a pension system for World War veterans (fully discussed below).

6. A one per cent reduction of income taxes for 1929.

7. A group of prison reform bills.

8. Reapportionment of the House of Representatives according to the 1930 census.

9. A number of appropriations for extensive public works projects, recommended by the President's economic conference after the Wall Street crash and the subsequent business depression.

The causes for the growing differences between the Senate and President are not easy to define. The Senate's hostility showed itself in organized obstruction of Mr. Hoover's policies when they came up for legislation; in the attempts, one successful, to block the Parker and Hughes nominations to the Supreme Court; in overriding by 61 to 18 the veto of the Spanish War pensions bill and in repeated personal criticism of the President by individual Senators. Incidents such as these abound in history. But in the present case the clash is all the more sharply defined because of the roseate atmosphere surrounding Mr. Hoover's inauguration. Elected by a 6,000,000 majority along with a Republican Congress, everything seemed in his favor. True, the new President was not a seasoned politician, but as a Cabinet officer he had gained invaluable experience in the workings of the government. Whatever the causes of the gradual breakdown of amicable relations between Senate and Chief Executive, that trend has

been unmistakable and has affected the character of the whole Hoover Administration. Nevertheless a review of the last fifteen months since those relations began does not warrant the picture painted by his critics of Mr. Hoover as a defeated man. He has gained his ends in a great number of important cases, as the events described below serve to show.

THE HAWLEY-SMOOT TARIFF

The passage of the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill on June 14 closed one more chapter of the long and turbulent tariff history of the United States and inaugurated another, no less turbulent. Ever since the tariff act of 1789, the first law passed by the new "United States," the protective system has, with intermittent setbacks, gained in power and scope, until, after a century and a half, it has become the "American system." When, in 1928, the national platforms of both Democratic and Republican parties advocated protection of industry, the question became merely one of degree.

The Hawley-Smoot bill reached the highest protective level of any tariff law ever passed, with an average rate about 20 per cent above that of the Fordney-McCumber bill of 1922. The movement for revision of that tariff began during the Presidential campaign of 1928. Its impetus can be directly traced to Senator Borah of Idaho, who, it is interesting to note, voted against the Hawley-Smoot bill. On Oct. 27, 1928, just before the Presidential election, Mr. Hoover, at Mr. Borah's suggestion, announced that, if elected, he would call a special session of Congress for farm relief. This was generally interpreted at the time as a bid for the farm vote, upon which both parties believed the election largely hinged.

President Hoover kept his promise, with the result that the new tariff bill occupied the special and regular sessions of Congress for about fourteen months. What Mr. Hoover wanted was limited tariff revision, with general increases on farm products and adjustment of only a few industrial rates.

But although the Hawley-Smoot bill raised the average rate on agricultural raw materials from 38.10 to 48.92 per cent, it can hardly be termed limited revision. Changes were made in 1,122 rates or 34 per cent of the total. The average rate on manufactures was raised from 31.02 to 34.31 per cent. A number of important duties were modified as follows:

	Fordney-McCumber Bill.	Smoot-Hawley Bill.
Automobiles	25%	10%
Aluminum, crude (lb.)..	5c	4c
Cattle (lb.).....	2c	2½c
Cement	Free	6c
Cream (gal.).....	20c*	56.6c
Timber (1,000 ft.).....	Free	\$1.00
Milk (gal.).....	2½c**	6½c
Sugar cane (ton).....	\$1	\$2.50
Sugar, Cuban (lb.).....	1.76c	2c
Sugar, world (lb.).....	2.20c	2.50c
Wool rags (lb.).....	7½c	18c

*Raised by Presidential proclamation in 1929 to 30c.

**Raised by Presidential proclamation in 1929 to 3¼c.

The acute difficulties which marked the fourteen months' building up and tearing to pieces and rebuilding of the Hawley-Smoot bill have been described month by month in this department, and need not be retold. That there was no lack of trading and log-rolling among legislators was generally conceded. The administrative clauses, as well as the rates, caused bitter controversies, but in most of them President Hoover's views prevailed. The debenture, or export subsidy for farmers, favorite of Senate insurgents and Democrats, was passed, beaten and repassed monotonously, but was finally abandoned. The flexible provision, considered by the President the key to scientific tariff making, was finally retained in a slightly modified form by which the Tariff Commission investigates and fixes the new rate within 50 per cent of the existing figure, and the change is either approved or vetoed by the President. Reorganization of the Tariff Commission along bipartisan lines was a major reform adopted.

The bill, as finally written, had very few whole-hearted supporters. In the first place, both Congress and the public were, after fourteen months, heartily

tired of the subject. Furthermore, the measure had become such a hodge-podge of conflicting tariff philosophies that no one of consistent views could be entirely pleased with it. In the Senate a tie was averted only when five Democrats deserted the fold and Senators Reed and Grundy of Pennsylvania reluctantly decided to conform, making a vote of 44 to 42.

President Hoover felt it necessary to defend his signature and to explain the bill in a message, on June 15, announcing that he would approve it. Admitting that it contained "many compromises between sectional interests and between different industries," he asserted that "no tariff bill has ever been enacted or ever will be enacted under the present system that will be perfect." But the President felt justified in signing the bill because he saw in the flexible provision the means of righting its injustices. "Without a workable flexible provision, we would require even more frequent Congressional tariff revision than during the past. With it the country should be freed from further general revision for many years to come," he concluded.

Opponents of the bill, however, refused to concede these virtues to the flexible clause. They pointed to its past record, its cumbersome operation, its use by Presidents Harding and Coolidge to raise rates in the majority of cases, and to the impossibility of taking the Tariff Commission out of politics. Nevertheless, the reorganization of its personnel was awaited with great interest and some hope.

Opinions of the bill were in violent conflict in this country and more or less unanimous abroad. In the United States they ranged from the prophecy that it would ruin our export trade to Senator Watson's assertion that thirty days after the passage of the bill the country would be well out of the business depression. The theory that if we exclude from our markets the products of foreign countries we deprive them of the means of buying from us has been advanced in criticism of other tariff bills. At this time, however, the

situation is complicated by the fact that Europe must also find means of paying huge war debts. Added to this is the growing recognition during the past ten years that commercial rivalries have bred wars in the past and that international peace demands economic cooperation rather than cut-throat competition. This point of view, expressed by the World Economic Conference at Geneva in 1927, has also influenced the formation of a number of European cartels and inspired M. Briand's project for European union.

Owen D. Young made a penetrating analysis of American prosperity from the international aspect in a speech in San Francisco on June 19. This country, he said, has five great surpluses—in agriculture, minerals, industrial products, services and capital. To the question: What can we do with these? he answered: We can either destroy them at home or market them abroad. He continued:

How can we market these surpluses, both agricultural and industrial? The method is well known. Those who need our goods are the potential buyers. One cultivates his potential buyers. He does not rebuff them. He seeks their friendship and their good-will. If they need credit, he extends it. If they have goods which he can take in exchange without curtailing the business of his own country, he makes it a point to take them. Is that the attitude of America today toward her potential customers? Are we creating good-will or bad-will in the countries where they live? Are we interesting ourselves in their welfare? Are we concerned about their living standards? Are we extending them credits through our financial machinery? Are we cooperating with them politically in order that they may improve their condition? Are we making friends, and so creating an attitude of mind, a spirit of relationship which will convert potential customers into actual ones? I venture the prediction that we must do so if we are to conserve our own economic structure, not as a matter of charity but of self-interest.

The enemies of the rapid realization of that desired end in America are suspicion, a narrowness of sympathy and point of view, both political and economic, a tendency to treat other peoples as our economic enemies rather than our friends, a threatening nationalism which in its extremes is dangerous to peace and good-will. All of these things are too often

played upon for selfish ends by racketeers both in economics and in politics. This country and the world has no use for them.

Nevertheless, official expert opinion denied that the Smoot-Hawley tariff would injure our foreign trade. On June 20 Secretary Mellon declared this fear to be "certainly without foundation. The United States will continue to buy a vast quantity of foreign products and to sell the products of its farms, mines and factories all over the world," predicted Mr. Mellon. He continued: "Foreign nations that do business with us would do well to remember that the all-important factor is the maintenance of the high purchasing power and standard of living of the American people." Secretary Lamont pointed out on June 21 that although the same dire predictions of loss of export trade had been made after the Fordney-McCumber bill, in the seven years since its passage our imports have increased 41 per cent and our exports 45 per cent. Secretary Hyde and Senator Capper praised the new tariff as a boon to the farmer, in statements issued on July 2 and 7, respectively.

In Europe the forces of indignation and hostility to a higher American tariff, which had been piling up their official and unofficial protests during the past year, descended in a massed attack on the bill.

From the vantage point of Paris, Professor Whitton, who recounts the international events of this month for *CURRENT HISTORY*, contributes the following review of the European reaction: "A wave of protest, unprecedented in bitterness and intensity, was set in motion toward this country from all parts of the world. It was reported that the principal European trade organizations were considering cooperative measures of retaliation, and that British, German and Belgian copper interests were planning to withdraw large purchases of copper and non-ferrous metals from the United States and to place them elsewhere. The movement for a European automobile cartel, it was stated, would be revived, and plans

were proposed for placing purchases of American autos on a quota basis. It was feared that France's recent example in raising the duties on American motor cars, trucks and parts, would be followed by a number of other countries.

"Of great importance was the view that a new impetus to British trade unity had been given by the Hawley-Smoot law. On June 17 the London *Morning Post* wrote: 'The United States think they have nothing to fear from the weak and disunited economic policy of the British Empire. Canada has taken the first step to show they are mistaken. It remains for Great Britain to follow that excellent example.' This article followed closely upon a statement made on June 16 by Mackenzie King, the Canadian Prime Minister. While insisting upon Canada's desire to maintain friendly economic relations with the United States, he declared that the new American tariff had forced Canada to raise its rates on certain duties, particularly agricultural products, to the level applied against Canada by us. He also announced that an effort would be made to divert to Great Britain many of the purchases now made in the United States.

"Most significant was the action of France, where feeling against the new duties is unusually strong. The Tariff Committee of the Chamber of Deputies urged the government to make immediate representations to the President of the United States, in an effort to obtain such decreases in tariffs as might be necessary to maintain French exports at their present level. It issued a warning of measures of retaliation, and in particular the suppression of the most-favored-nation treatment now accorded this country. A statement issued by Ambassador Edge attempted to refute the alleged nefarious effects of the new tariffs on French exports. François Coty wrote in the Paris *Figaro*: 'When will they see at Washington the enormity of the paradox which lies in draining Europe's capital through the mechanism of the Young plan, at the same time as they seek to impose American products on Europe

and to refuse access to European merchandise?'

"Similar *démarches* were planned by Spain, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland and other countries. Some talk was heard of diverting to 'friendlier' countries many of the purchases now made by European countries in the United States, a seriously powerful threat, whether practicable or not, since of the total American exports Europe's purchases represent one-half. In Germany also the bill was attacked, and the *Frankfurter Zeitung* made a typical comment in branding the bill as a 'monster of economic folly,' and expressed great surprise that a statesman of the calibre and economic views of President Hoover should have signed the bill.

"Undoubtedly the movement for a United States of Europe has been given some encouragement by the passing of the new law. Thus Edouard Herriot, former French Premier, wrote in the *Ere Nouvelle* that 'it is not sufficient simply to propose reprisals. There must be instituted at once a European economic entente—a Taylorization of Europe.'"

An Italian point of view may be judged from the following editorial in the *Giornale d'Italia*:

For Italy the problems now are: How to continue to pay the war debt, amounting to \$5,000,000 yearly, which she is determined to pay to the last cent, and how to prevent importation of American goods in order to prevent exportation of Italian money to America. Italy must organize her production, technically and economically, in such a way as to continue to export to America despite the high tariff. At the same time Italy must make every effort to import as few American products as possible, substituting for them Italian products or products from other countries favoring Italian goods in their markets. Italy must intensify her efforts to gain South American and Far Eastern markets, where Italian products can be sold advantageously, as compared with American commodities.

Augusto Turati, Secretary of the Fascist party, said:

If we are suffering something today, it is because other peoples, forgetful of what we gave open-handedly during the sad, laborious hours of the war, have be-

come exigent creditors for us. Not content with having made us pay our debts to the last centesimo, they would now take us by the throat economically in order to make us slaves.

The Italian Cabinet Council met and published a decree on June 27 raising duties on imported motor cars, most of which are American, by amounts varying from 100 to 167 per cent.

Mexican reactions are reported by Professor Meham as follows: "Mexico, like the other nations of the world, is seeking relief from the new American tariff. Foreign Minister Genaro Estrada stated on June 21 that Mexico is planning to expand its consular service to gain new markets, particularly in Canada and Central America, replacing those in the United States. The new American tariff, he asserted, would affect Mexican exports of an annual value of almost \$15,000,000, and the Mexican cattle raising interests particularly would suffer."

El Excelsior, leading Mexico City daily, in an editorial coupled President Hoover's signature of the tariff measure and Soviet Russia's abolition of private property as the most sensational events since the World War. Both were said to be "equivalent to declarations of war against the rest of the world."

The first answer to protests here and abroad was the passage by the Senate on June 18 of the Borah resolution directing the Tariff Commission to investigate the rates on shoes, cement, furniture and farm implements. This action was frankly aimed at reduction of these duties to benefit the farmer. Investigations of the rates on sugar, pig iron, umbrellas, wire and lace were subsequently authorized.

THE PENSION BILL

The passage of the veterans pension bill and its approval by the President on July 3 constituted a radical change in government policy toward veterans of the World War. The new policy abandons the principle, set forth by the Wilson Administration and agreed to by veterans' organizations immediately after the war, that compensation

should be limited to those disabled as a result of active service in the war. It inaugurates a vast pension system for all partly or wholly disabled veterans, not already receiving compensation, no matter what their illness or when contracted.

The government has already spent about \$1,500,000,000 for veterans' compensation on the basis of active service. It has given free hospital care to about 500,000 ex-service men. Government life insurance amounted to more than \$3,000,000,000 by July, 1929. The Veterans Bureau has been spending about \$206,000,000 a year for direct compensation to World War veterans. In addition, war risk insurance and the bonus law brought the annual budget of that agency up to \$511,000,000. But there were many cases of suffering among veterans in which disability could not be traced to active service, and demands for the relief of these men became more and more urgent. The need for some sort of legislation was generally conceded, but stormy battles in both houses of Congress, hours of oratory and a Presidential veto were necessary before a bill acceptable to the administration was passed. And even the final bill has been harshly criticized as being either too liberal or not liberal enough.

When the Rankin bill was passed by the House early in April, the controversy was already well started. That measure, introduced by Representative Johnson of South Dakota, had been so radically amended as to be disclaimed by its author. Whereas the original Johnson bill had called for a yearly outlay of about \$89,000,000, the Rankin measure demanded \$181,000,000 for the first year, increasing to \$400,000,000 thereafter. As reported to the Senate on June 10, however, the bill was considerably modified. For the first year about \$102,000,000 was asked and thereafter \$225,000,000. Not until passage was imminent in the Senate did the administration launch an attack on the project. On June 22 Senator Watson published a letter from Mr. Hoover enclosing opinions of Sec-

retary Mellon and General Hines, Director of the Veterans Bureau. Their denunciation was unanimous. Mr. Mellon said that, even without any additional expenses, he expected a \$100,000,000 deficit for 1931, that the veterans bill would mean discontinuing the 1 per cent income tax reduction and perhaps even raising the tax, and that such action "in the present state of business" would be most unfortunate.

On June 23 Senator Reed of Pennsylvania offered a substitute bill, approved by the administration, to cost \$35,000,000 in the first year, but this was summarily rejected. Confident that it could again defy the Presidential veto, as it had done in the case of the Spanish-American pension bill on June 2, the Senate passed the veterans bill by a vote of 66 to 6. The inevitable veto message came on June 26. In it Mr. Hoover set forth concisely what he considered the serious and fundamental fallacies of the bill. Generally speaking, these were five:

1. The measure, he said, was based on a flagrant hypocrisy. Unwilling to grant an out and out pension for disabilities, not incurred in active service, the bill "provides that in respect to veterans who between the years 1925 and 1930 shall have become afflicted with any one of an extensive category of diseases and thus disabled, there is established a 'presumption' that these diseases originated from their service and that they should be 'compensated' or pensioned upon the basis of men who suffered as the result of actual military service. This provision would give war disability benefits to from 75,000 to 100,000 good men who were not disabled as the result of war. In other words, the bill purports to establish that men who have enjoyed good health for a minimum of seven years (from 1918 to 1925) since the war, or a maximum of twelve years (to 1930) and who have then become afflicted, have received such affliction from their war service." This "presumption" was characterized by medical authorities of the Veterans Bureau as a phys-

ical impossibility and, Mr. Hoover added, a "wholly false and fictitious basis for legislation in veterans' aid."

2. "Men who were enrolled in the army who remained but comparatively few days or weeks in service, without ever leaving their home States, will receive aid upon the same basis as those men who passed through the battle of the Argonne." They might be paid, if totally disabled, from \$80 to \$200 a month for life, in some cases receiving more than those actually wounded at the front. (In this connection Representative Johnson also pointed out the absurdity of the bill under which "a man who enlisted in the regular army on July 1, 1921, nearly three years after the World War, and served two days, and then was afflicted with gout or obesity in December, 1929, will be given, if he takes hospitalization and has dependents, a pension of \$225 to \$250 a month.")

3. "There is no provision in this bill against men of independent means claiming benefits from the government for these disabilities arising in civil life." As a remedy, the President suggested that the Secretary of the Treasury return to the Veterans Bureau a statement of the men who are exempt from income taxes "at some level to be determined by Congress."

4. Mr. Hoover greatly deplored the "inclusion of compensation for disablement due to vicious habits," a provision to which he also objected strongly in his veto of the Spanish War pension bill.

5. Asserting that "monetary considerations are indeed secondary," Mr. Hoover took up the financial burden imposed by the bill last of all. "The bill in a wasteful and extravagant manner goes far beyond the financial necessities of the situation," and the cost estimated at \$110,000,000 the first year, increasing to \$235,000,000 annually is "far beyond the capacity of the government at the present time without increased taxation," he concluded.

It should be noted in the light of

later events, that the House of Representatives passed the Rankin bill containing these provisions, so strenuously condemned by the President, last April by an overwhelming majority of 324 to 49, with patriotic speeches and unrestrained enthusiasm. On June 26, three months later, exactly 139 Representatives reversed themselves and voted (188-182) to sustain the President's veto of that bill. The Johnson substitute measure, which was said to please the administration, was then rushed through by a vote of 365 to 4. These steps, previously agreed to in Republican caucus, were taken with almost military precision, with Speaker Longworth in command.

But the Senators were not to be daunted so easily. Resolutely they tried to clothe the new Johnson bill in the objectionable provisions of its deceased sister. Determinedly they inserted the figures of the vetoed Spanish War bill, more than doubling those of the House. Triumphant they passed amendments raising the maximum non-service pension from \$40 to \$60 a month, and voted by 66 to 6 another bill which they knew the President could not conscientiously sign. But these gestures in defiance of "dictation" were futile. The Senate conferees realized that the House was adamant, that the end of the session meant either this administration bill or no pension bill at all, and so they surrendered their amendments. On the evening of July 3 the conference report was adopted by 48 weary Senators against a stubborn but defeated group of 14.

The President immediately put his signature to the Johnson bill, which he termed "a generous national action based upon sound principles." It provides pensions of from \$12 to \$40 a month for veterans whose disabilities were *not* acquired in the service, provided they have not had to pay income tax during the year before application. But they shall not be compensated for illness incurred through willful misconduct. The minimum service requirement for this class is ninety

days during the World War. Pensions up to \$200 a month are also provided for disability due to personal injury or disease contracted "in the military or naval service" between April 6, 1917 and July 2, 1921, or to a recurrence or aggravation, caused by service, of a former disease. "Willful misconduct" is here also eliminated as a cause, except in cases of total disability.

Consolidation of the three bureaus which have been in charge of veterans of all wars has been advocated by successive Presidents for ten years. On July 8 Mr. Hoover put this reform into effect. Until then this confusion and waste had existed with the Pension Bureau, concerned with Civil and Spanish War veterans, under the Interior Department; the veterans' hospitals run by an independent board of managers, and World War affairs handled by the Veterans Bureau. Acting on authority from Congress, these three agencies were united under General Frank T. Hines, who was appointed Administrator of Veterans' Affairs. The other executives were retained under his supervision, and the President announced that the reorganization and exchange of functions would proceed slowly but with considerable saving to the administrative budget. The combined needs of these three bureaus were estimated at \$800,000,000 for the current year, almost one-fourth the entire expense of carrying on the government.

THE NAVAL TREATY

Denying requests for delay until after the November elections, President Hoover summoned the Senate in special session on July 7 to consider ratification of the London naval treaty. Fifty-eight Senators, nine more than a quorum, appeared, about three-quarters of whom were eager to speed ratification, while the remaining few, led by Senators Johnson and Moses, were equally determined to obstruct and delay action.

In his message to the special session Mr. Hoover spoke of the opposition as "groups who believe in unrestricted military strength as an objective of the

American nation." The President expressed the belief that the overwhelming majority of the people were opposed to this conception, and warned that "the only alternative to this treaty is the competitive building of navies, with all its flow of suspicion, hate, ill-will and ultimate disaster." He pointed out that the controversy over six and eight inch guns "revolves around less than 3 per cent of our whole fleet," and that "the question before us now is not whether we shall have a treaty with either three more eight-inch cruisers or four less six-inch cruisers, of whether we shall have a larger reduction in tonnage. It is whether we shall have this treaty or no treaty. It is a question as to whether we shall move strongly toward limitation and reduction in naval arms or whether we shall have no limitation or reduction and shall enter upon a disastrous period of competitive armament." These views were echoed by Senator Swanson, who pleaded for ratification and opened the debate on July 8. He asserted that while the treaty had minor defects, none of these justified its rejection.

These statements were in answer to arguments of the opposition Senators and Admirals during hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (see CURRENT HISTORY for July) and to the minority report of that committee, submitted on June 29 by Senators Johnson, Moses, and Robinson of Indiana. This report summed up twelve reasons why the treaty should be rejected, the gist of them being that it put our fleet in an inferior position in relation to Great Britain and Japan.

Another weapon of the obstructionists was the President's refusal to send the State Department's confidential data to the Senate. Although both Secretary Stimson and Mr. Hoover had explained that this would be contrary to precedent and a breach of international trust, the Senate passed the McKellar resolution (38 to 17) on July 10, demanding to see all documents bearing on treaty negotiations. However, the proviso, "if not incompatible

with the public interest," destroyed the force of the demand. The President promptly refused, but offered to show the papers to any individual Senator in strict confidence. Two Senators, Pittman and Thomas, immediately joined the opposition.

Senator Norris thereupon introduced a reservation stating that ratification was only on the explicit understanding that the documents withheld did not contain secret commitments modifying the treaty. On July 13 the administration forces organized to hold a quorum in Washington to speed up debate and to engineer a vote within ten days.

PROHIBITION

In accordance with the Williamson bill, reorganization of enforcement took place with the transfer of the prohibition bureau from the Treasury to the Department of Justice on July 1. Colonel Amos W. W. Woodcock, former Federal Attorney at Baltimore, took command of the new bureau, while former Commissioner James M. Doran became head of the new Industrial Alcohol Bureau under the Treasury Department. It was announced on June 26 that the enforcement districts had been reduced from twenty-seven to twelve, to conform to Federal judicial circuits. Colonel Woodcock declared that he would eschew spectacular drives, but would pursue a policy of steady lawful pressure.

An attempt by Congress to register dissatisfaction with the Wickersham Commission by reducing its funds from \$250,000 to \$50,000 and confining its investigation to prohibition failed just before adjournment. When the appropriation he had recommended was threatened, President Hoover announced that he would not abandon the survey of all law enforcement and would obtain the necessary funds from private sources if Congress refused them. The Senate reinserted the \$250,000 appropriation at the last moment on July 3.

The government closed the fiscal year with a surplus of \$184,000,000, according to a report by Secretary Mellon

on July 1, which revealed that more had been collected in taxes and more spent by the government than in 1929. The surplus was abnormally large, said Mr. Mellon, because foreign governments had paid \$76,000,000 of their debts in cash.

A survey of business conditions during the first five months of the year was published by Julius H. Barnes, chairman of the President's economic conference, on June 28. The report was not merely another "reassuring statement" designed to inspire confidence, like many others previously issued by government officials. A summary of facts and figures without attempt at interpretation, it revealed a general business depression as compared with the extraordinary activity of 1929. While the building industry showed a decided decline, construction in public works and utilities, however, topped last year's by about 20 per cent. Credit conditions were reported easy.

Dwight W. Morrow won the New Jersey Republican Senatorial nomination

on June 17 by a plurality of about 300,000. In defeating Representative Franklin Fort and former Senator Frelinghuysen he amassed votes which would be sufficient to elect him next November.

Work on the great Boulder Dam project began on July 7. Ray Lyman Wilbur, Secretary of the Interior, with appropriate ceremony, opened the construction, which is to employ 1,000 men at a cost of \$165,000,000 over about eight years.

"We will make new geography and start a new era in the Southwest," he said. "With Imperial Valley no longer menaced by floods, new hope and new financial credit will be given to one of the largest irrigation districts in the West. By increasing the water supply of Los Angeles and surrounding cities, homes and industries are made possible for millions of people. A great new source of power forecasts the opening of new mines and the creation of new industries in Arizona, Nevada and California."

D. E. W.

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

By J. LLOYD MECHAM

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF GOVERNMENT, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

LUIS N. MORONES, head of the Nationalist Revolutionary Alliance and former Secretary of Industry, Commerce and Labor, created a sensation on June 9 by charging Emilio Portes Gil, former Provisional President, with instigating a plot against the life of President Ortiz Rubio during the latter's visit to the United States last January. Morones said Portes Gil plotted against the life of the then President-elect with Los Angeles Communists through emissaries emanating from the Mexican Ministry of the Interior. "Mexico's President-elect," said Morones, "was forewarned by the State Department at Washington not to visit Los Angeles." Portes Gil, head of the National Revolutionary party, which was opposed by the Morones elements

in the July election, said the charges were absurd and asked Ortiz Rubio to make a full investigation. On July 12 Foreign Minister Estrada directed a letter to Portes Gil saying that Luis Morones was mistaken, and that the government did not attach any truth to the accusation.

An attempt was made during the latter part of June to force the issue of the gubernatorial campaign in the State of Chihuahua by a coup d'état when the followers of Manuel M. Prieto, candidate for Governor, instituted impeachment proceedings against the incumbent Francisco Almada. The Chamber of Deputies, controlled by Prieto's followers, promptly voted, 10 to 3, to depose Almada, and elected Deputy Manuel Jesus Estrada, a Prieto parti-

san, as Provisional Governor. With Estrada in charge of the government, Prieto's election would be assured. Governor Almada departed hastily for Juarez by airplane, June 25, and established the State capital in the city hall while awaiting aid from the Federal Government in Mexico City. On being assured of "safety and justice" by General Mora, who had been appointed by President Ortiz Rubio to settle the differences between the factions, Governor Almada returned to Chihuahua the next day. On June 28 the Federal Governor decided to recognize Almada as legal Governor, stating that investigation had shown the coup of Manuel Jesus Estrada to have been unconstitutional.

Because of the drop in the price of silver many mines in Mexico have suspended operations and may more have petitioned the government for permission to shut down. Since a large number of these mines are without smelters of their own, the transportation of thousands of tons of ore is an important consideration in the financial reorganization of the Mexican National Railways and any suspension of operations in the mines, therefore, is attended by far-reaching consequences. In an effort to find a solution of the problem of the silver producer the Ortiz Rubio Government has invited all silver-producing countries to send representatives to an international congress to be held in Mexico.

Luis Montes de Oca, Secretary of Finance, and other representatives of the Mexican Government met in New York on June 25 with Thomas P. Lamont's international committee of bankers on Mexico in the first of a series of conferences on the question of arranging a settlement of debts amounting to \$482,281,000. Since Jan. 1, 1928, Mexico has defaulted in payment of interest and therefore the need of securing a new international pact is recognized. Advisers to the bankers and to Mexico, especially Dwight W. Morrow, American Ambassador to Mexico, have counseled prudence in concluding such an understanding, arguing

that payment of current debts by Mexico should be accomplished before foreign commitments are agreed upon.

Former President Calles in an interview on June 23 declared that Mexico's agrarian policy as thus far put into practice was a failure and a remedy must be found. Referring to a recent governmental proposal to give out more land, he said: "It is folly to consider giving the agrarian a second parcel of land if time has shown that he is unable to produce on the first piece. * * * We must admit, although much land has been given out, conditions have not improved and the land is not producing as it should." Señor Calles said that according to his information the agrarian indebtedness of Mexico amounted to 1,500,000,000 pesos and that so far there had been issued only 15,000,000 pesos worth of bonds. He recommended that first of all the real value of the properties must be determined. Moreover, he would have every State Governor fix relatively short periods in which grants would be bought by communities and thereafter no petitions could in any case be made. He also urged that the guarantees be given to small and large holders alike to encourage initiative and stimulate private and public credit.

Dr. Horacio Alfaro, former Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Panama, and brother of Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro, Panamanian Minister to the United States, was on June 7 appointed presiding commissioner of the United States-Mexico general and special claims commissions. Each government has a representative on the commission and the chairman casts the deciding vote when there is disagreement. The claims commission, established eight years ago, has been extended by convention until 1931.

Mexico shows a gain in population of 14 per cent since 1921, according to the census taken on May 15, which gives the total population as 16,404,030. Every State shows a gain except Colima. The States showing a population of over 1,000,000 each are Jalisco, Michoacan, Oaxaca, Puebla and Vera

Cruz. The Federal District has a population of 1,217,663.

NICARAGUA — Throughout the month of June numerous engagements occurred in Northern Nicaragua between the Nicaragua National Guard and bandit bands. General Douglas McDougal, commander of the Guard, announced early in June that his forces were scouring the hills and jungles of the northern sector and forcing the bandits to fight in their own haunts. Three engagements resulted in as many days, with twelve bandits killed, whereas the Guard had no casualties. Later in the month, however, with the advent of the rainy season, the bandits seemed to be concentrating in larger camps. This tends to confirm the belief that Agustino Sandino, the insurgent leader, has returned to Nicaragua and has reassumed leadership of the armed opposition to the government. The rebel chieftain, who gave the Marines so much trouble in 1928 and the early part of 1929, eventually sought asylum in Mexico. Last February he left Mexico with his staff and since then his whereabouts have been a matter of speculation. In the latter part of June the American military authorities in Nicaragua were inclined to confirm the report that Sandino was in Nicaragua.

Dr. Juan B. Sacasa, president of the board of directors of the Pacific Railroad of Nicaragua and the National Bank of Nicaragua, announced on June 10 that the International Acceptance Bank of New York would act as fiscal agent for both institutions. Representatives of the American corporation have been appointed to the boards of the National Bank and the Pacific Railroad to act in an advisory capacity. He also announced the completion of plans for the formation of a mortgage bank to be managed by the National Bank, and like the first two institutions, to be owned entirely by the government.

HONDURAS — President Vicente Mejia Colindres, upon learning that workmen had been urged by foreign agitators, reputedly Communists,

to quit their labors on July 4, and also to destroy private property, disown the republic's institutions, and demonstrate against friendly powers, proclaimed martial law in four of the provinces. These provinces, on Honduras's Caribbean slope, have attracted many aliens from other Central American lands and the West Indies to work in the banana industry. About forty alien agitators were deported and many others were imprisoned.

President Colindres has announced the government's intention to introduce legislation in the National Congress for bettering conditions among farmers and workmen.

GUATEMALA — The government's explanation regarding the invasion of Mexican territory last February when a band of Guatemalan forest guards attacked a chicle plantation at La Fama, is that the guards believed La Fama was in Guatemalan territory and that the Mexicans operating there were chicle smugglers. The Mexican Ambassador to Guatemala has been ordered to accept the explanation and to present claims for the loss of lives and damage to property.

EL SALVADOR — As an economy measure, the government has decided to suppress the Salvadorean legations in Great Britain, Germany, Spain and Mexico. This move, which means a saving of \$200,000 a year, will leave the legations in Washington and Paris as the only remaining foreign diplomatic posts.

CUBA — The final report of the National Budget Commission, which was delivered to President Machado on June 3, recommended, because of the pronounced economic depression in Cuba, that rigid economies be introduced for the coming fiscal year. A reduction of salaries of all government employes from 10 to 15 per cent, which will represent a saving of \$9,000,000, was urged. Two days later President Machado took the initiative by voluntarily reducing his own salary from

\$25,000 to \$12,000 a year. Salaries of other government officials were also reduced to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to keep within the \$76,000,000 budget.

The United States on July 2 accepted an offer of \$350,000 by the Cuban Government to settle the claims of Charles J. Harrah, an American citizen, for damages sustained in the destruction by alleged order of the Cuban Government of a railroad operated by him in Cuba.

A treaty has been negotiated between Cuba and Japan to secure for the contracting parties enjoyment of most-favored nation privileges. Exception is made, however, for the special rates established by Cuba's tariff law in accordance with the treaty of commercial reciprocity between Cuba and the United States. Facilities for the immigration of Japanese to Cuba are accorded by the treaty, and an old order which prohibited the entry into Cuba of "men who could be mistaken by their physical features for Chinese," has been abrogated. Since the treaty went into effect it is said that an increased number of Japanese have arrived in Cuba, but as no passports are required there are no precise figures.

The Cuban Secretary of Agriculture on July 7 announced the sale by American and Cuban interests of 135,000 tons of sugar to Soviet Russia. Another offer for the purchase of 200,000 tons of sugar at an early date at the market price has been made by Russia. It is reported that, if this sale is approved, the National City Bank of New York will finance the contract between Cuba and Russia.

In pursuance of a resolution adopted at the international forest congress recently held in Rome that the countries represented should provide adequate protection for all species of native plants and forest trees threatened with extinction, a decree ordering the creation of a national park and providing the necessary funds has been signed by President Machado. The first national park in Cuba is to be established in the Province of Oriente, near the city

of Mayari, and comprises more than 64,812 acres.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC—Politicians who opposed the election of General Rafael Leonides Trujillo as President have sought refuge in Porto Rico, there to await the return of "normal" conditions in the Dominican Republic. This, they say, can only come by prompt and free elections. They charge the new Dominican Government with many crimes, including assassination. Among the political refugees are Federico Velazquez, who was Opposition candidate for the Presidency; Angel Morales, who ran for Vice President on the same ticket; former President Vasquez, and several former members of the Vasquez Cabinet and members of Congress.

Provisional President Estrella Urena, who is also Vice President-elect, on June 3 told the Chamber of Commerce of Santo Domingo that he favored extension of the republic's debt payments, but was opposed to contracting new loans. He declared that the sovereignty of the republic was jeopardized by a \$10,000,000 loan in the United States incurred by a former administration. He declared that if revenues should become insufficient to meet these payments, the United States could take over control under the conventions of 1907 and 1924.

HAITI—The Council of State, which functioned for several years in place of a National Congress, has been reconstituted by Presidential decree. The reformed council convened in its first ordinary session on June 11 under the Presidency of Eugene T. Roy, who on May 15 succeeded Luis Borno as Provisional President. The national election is to take place on Oct. 19, when members of the National Assembly will be chosen, and they in turn will elect the new President of the republic. On the same date a referendum will be held on a constitutional amendment empowering the National Assembly to amend the Constitution. This now requires a plebiscite.

SOUTH AMERICA

By HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE

PROFESSOR OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES AND DEAN OF THE LOWER DIVISION, GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE DIFFICULTIES which last month seemed to be inevitably in prospect for the Silas régime in Bolivia proved to be closed at hand than appeared probable at that time. The passage of a month, an eventful one for Bolivia, finds a complete political overturn effected. The former President is in exile, to be followed shortly by his much-hated right-hand man and chief supporter, General Hans Kundt. A military junta, headed by General Carlos Blanco Galindo, is in control of the government, displacing the Cabinet to which President Silas, in violation of the Constitution, had entrusted executive power at the time of his resignation on May 28.

Obviously few Bolivians failed to realize that the former President's manoeuvres indicated an intention to perpetuate his government. For two years the President had exercised a "limited dictatorship," governing without a Congress, while during the same period the constitutional Vice President, Abdon Saavedra, had been in exile. Under the Constitution the President should have announced early in May the date of the elections to choose a successor for the Presidential term beginning on Aug. 7. When the President failed to issue the call, and made plain his purpose to remain in office, some 300 army officers signed a manifesto declaring that the army would not support this violation of the Constitution. The President's resignation followed. The assumption of control by the Cabinet and the latter's call for elections to a constitutional Congress to be held in July were apparently rightly interpreted as indications of the President's intent to have the Constitution, which forbids re-election, amended so as to permit his continuance in office, either by abrogating the no-re-election clause or by extending the Presidential term from four to six years.

What effect the interchange of telegrams between Vice President Saavedra and General Kundt had upon the outcome is problematical. In view of the general nature of the uprising it seems to have been merely incidental. The arrogance of the General's reply may, however, be taken as typical of an attitude which probably had a great deal to do with Bolivian dissatisfaction with the government. General Kundt, a Prussian officer, went to Bolivia to train the Bolivian Army as early as 1910. He returned to Germany and distinguished himself in the World War, attaining the rank of General. Once more in Bolivia after the war he became a naturalized Bolivian in 1919, apparently because of the Treaty of Versailles, which forbids Germans to act as military instructors in foreign armies. Under the Siles régime General Kundt was chief of staff of the Bolivian Army and as such directed the mobilization of troops at the time of the border episodes between Bolivia and Paraguay. His reactions, not only to the Saavedra protest, but to the revolt of the army and of the populace in La Paz, were strikingly reminiscent of the attitude of the pre-war German military caste. Assumed to be a tower of strength to the Siles régime, he was undoubtedly its greatest weakness.

According to Colonel Filiberto Osorio, former Under-Secretary of War, who had been exiled by the President only a short time before the outbreak and who was recalled from Havana to become a member of the military junta, the partisans of Siles had planned a "dummy" military revolt which would have continued the President in office if other means had failed. Colonel Osorio was reported as declaring his exile due to his discovery of this plot. Whatever basis may exist for this charge, certainly General Kundt was in an advantageous posi-

tion, and perhaps in the proper frame of mind, to attempt it.

The first disturbance was not particularly threatening. It took place on June 16 at Villazón, a small border town in Southern Bolivia, on the railway between La Paz and Buenos Aires, Argentina. Roberto Hinojosa, a former member of the Bolivian diplomatic service who had been dismissed because of his communistic leanings, seized the custom house and the town with a small force of revolutionists. He was able to maintain himself there until June 20, when he was driven out by government troops. Hinojosa's program, announced in a proclamation, included reforms in the government, repudiation of debts contracted with foreign bankers, expropriation of lands held by the Standard Oil Company, refusal to recognize the Monroe Doctrine, and withdrawal from the League of Nations and the Pan American Union. Whether Hinojosa's attempt was a diversion to distract the government's attention from the more serious revolt in the heart of the country, or whether it was an isolated and premature manifestation of opposition to the government, is not clear. His declarations certainly did not favor the exiled Vice President, though the two were reported as being intimate.

In any case, Hinojosa's failure was followed by a general conflagration, in which the army, students, workmen, and the people in general were quickly involved. On June 25 it was reported that the Camacho regiment had revolted in Oruro, an important railway and highway centre, strategically located and the second largest city in Bolivia, and had seized the city, naming a military junta headed by General Blanco Galindo to take over the provisional government. At the same time reports reached Buenos Aires that in the effort to control a demonstration on Sunday, June 22, by workmen and students, thirty-four persons, including women and children, had been killed by police in the streets of La Paz and that the populace had become infuriated at the sight of the bodies, which were car-

ried through the streets by demonstrators. Later reports raised the number of dead in the street fighting to 100 or more, including two university student leaders, a young man and a young woman, who according to press reports were haranguing the demonstrators when shot down by the police without warning.

The military revolt apparently spread with amazing rapidity. The Cochibamba garrison followed that of Oruro and others followed suit, only a few troops in La Paz remaining loyal to the government. By June 27 the revolting troops had seized La Paz and the junta was firmly in the saddle. President Siles took refuge in the Brazilian Legation and General Kundt in the German Legation. On July 2 the former President reached Arica, Chile, in safety. Rioters vented their rage against General Kundt, whom they blamed for the bloodshed in La Paz, by wrecking his house and burning his grand piano in the street in front of the German Legation. The *de facto* government found it necessary to guard the homes of other Germans in the city.

The new government took prompt steps to restore order and win public confidence. Political prisoners were freed and political exiles, including former President Montes, Liberal leader, and Vice President Abdon Saavedra and his brother, former President Bautista Saavedra, Republican leaders, were invited to return and participate in the restoration of Bolivia. Civilian advisers were added to the junta, including Tomás Manuel Elio, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, who had resigned from the Siles Cabinet; David Alvéstegui, who had represented Bolivia in the negotiations with Paraguay; Carlos Calvo and Daniel Sánchez Bustamante, leader in the "youth" movement in Bolivia. Under the program announced in a decree of the junta, freedom of the press and free speech were pledged, the National University, as a recognition in part of the aid of the students, was made autonomous, public instruction was placed under a National Council of

Education and freed from political control, an economic council was set up to study the causes and seek remedies for the present crisis, the controllership recommended as part of the Kemmerer plan was provided for, the judiciary protected against political interference and municipal home rule pledged. It was also announced that no member of the junta would be a candidate for the Presidency.

The government sought to gain the confidence of foreign governments by announcing that existing internal and foreign loans would be protected, and that "only those international trade and treaty agreements that may be proved fraudulent" would be repudiated. Economy measures were instituted, including a 25 per cent reduction in administrative offices. Diplomatic and consular officers, it was declared, would not be disturbed until the termination of their appointments in the regular way.

In short, both from the ideal and from the practical points of view, the members of the new government appear to have overlooked nothing that would tend to bring about the rapid restoration of normal conditions and the concentration of Bolivian resources in the hands of individuals and groups for the remedying of her ills. There is evidence in all the acts of the new government so far of a great release of patriotic zeal for the good of the whole country. The danger lies in two factors, first, the predominantly military character of the government; and second, the heterogeneity of the elements by which it is supported.

In spite of pledges that the directorate will not seek to remain in power, and that none of its members will be a candidate for President, and in spite of the association with itself of civilian advisers of high standing, the government is one of soldiers, set up by military force. It will require the exercise of the highest type of civic idealism to avoid falling into a conception common to governments so established—namely, that soldiers, because of their efficiency, know best how to govern,

and that the good of the country itself requires a well-organized, efficient government, which naturally to a soldier means a military government. Nor are human ambitions to be overlooked as a factor with which to reckon. This is the first danger to be overcome.

The second difficulty is raised by the return to Bolivia of the exiles, many of them men of real ability and demonstrated capacity for leadership, and by the linking in support of the government of labor, the young intellectuals, and the army. It will be a wise government, indeed, that will be able long to convince these diverse elements, these men of high intelligence but differing points of view, that what is being done is for the best. Only a thoroughgoing renaissance of patriotic self-abnegation, of willingness to serve, however humbly, can long bind together such an incongruous constituency. One could wish such a spirit for the constituency, such wisdom for the government.

Against this hope stands the record of some seventy presidents or dictators in Bolivia during its 105 years of existence. But there is light in the fact that the fundamental cause for the uprising was apparently not merely the unpopularity of the President or of his staff, but largely the feeling of the people that the government's plans constituted a threat to constitutional government, and constitutional government they were bound to have. It is this factor that strikes the new note, a note that has been heard in some of the other Latin countries, in Mexico, for instance, with its return to elected civilian Presidents, and in Colombia, with the peaceful acceptance by the majority party of a minority President legally elected. If the present *de facto* government of Bolivia gives way within a reasonable time to a duly elected civilian government, one can mark up another victory for the constitutional idea, the democratic ideal, in Latin America. Who knows but what the triumph of constitutionalism in Bolivia, where the odds against success were

great, may not set the pace for other dictator-ridden countries?

A significant feature of the overturn is the fact that it occurred in a country which has a large Indian or mestizo population, and a relatively small proportion of pure white stock, estimated at as low as 15 per cent. A somewhat similar situation exists in Mexico. It would provide food for thought if this ethnic element should prove in the long run to be a decisive factor for constitutional government.

Still another significant feature is the part played by youth in the movement. It was students who first openly protested against the government in La Paz, in a series of demonstrations which began during the celebration of the centenary of Antonio José de Sucre on June 5. The government's answer was to close the educational institutions and exile the students to remote sections. The demonstration of June 22, which struck the

spark of civil war (as contrasted with purely military revolt) was organized in protest against this action of the government. The autonomy granted to the university and the inclusion of university elements in the government constitute the new régime's recognition of the part played by the young intellectuals in the success of the revolution.

The Latin-American student may be fractious, given to student strikes and demonstrations, contentious, and at times even cantankerous; but he represents, in Mexico, in Cuba, in Colombia, in Venezuela, in Bolivia, in Uruguay and in Argentina, perhaps the most completely disinterested and idealistic element in the citizenry. He bids fair to be increasingly a factor for progress, a hope for the future. From this point of view his prominent place in the present Bolivian scene will be watched with interest by all students of Latin-American affairs.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

By *RALSTON HAYDEN*

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PROBLEMS OF EMPIRE were never more at the centre of British political discussion than during the recent weeks. The prolongation of the pacific rebellion in India, serious fighting with the tribes on the Northwest Indian frontier, together with the Simon report and the generally unfavorable reception accorded to it compelled widespread recognition of the extreme seriousness of Britain's relations with her greatest dependency. At the same time "British Trade Unity," the imperial preference idea of the late Joseph Chamberlain, rechristened and revamped to meet the needs of the times, definitely emerged as a vital issue, perhaps the paramount issue of the general election for which Great Britain is preparing. Adding to the public interest aroused by these

major subjects of imperial policy were a conference of the Governors of British colonies (as distinguished from the dominions) which was held in London during the week of June 25, an Imperial Press Conference which met in London and Edinburgh, and an official announcement of British policy in East Africa. Probably at no time since the World War has Great Britain been so conscious of the tremendous importance of the dominions and the dependencies in the most vital aspects of her national life.

Although the developments of the past month or so with reference to national and imperial fiscal policy are still too recent to be evaluated with assurance, it is evident that there is a large body of British opinion that regards them as being of fundamental impor-

tance. The efforts of Lord Beaverbrook and Lord Rothermere, Conservative newspaper magnates, to force protection, coupled with imperial preference, upon Mr. Baldwin and other official leaders of the Conservative party have for some time constituted a challenge to the leadership of the former Prime Minister and a danger to the unity of the party. At a meeting of Conservative members of the House of Commons and prospective Conservative candidates held on June 24 (the first "party meeting" held in seven years) Mr. Baldwin was overwhelmingly sustained in his leadership and his position that the party would not seek to impose a general tariff without first submitting the question to a national referendum.

At the same time, however, Mr. Baldwin opened the door to a reconsideration of the referendum policy by declaring that if "it is a bar to unity and that unity can be achieved in any other way I am open to consider the question." This statement was welcomed by the meeting, and a resolution was also passed supporting Mr. Baldwin in his "determination to make the defense of our home industries and the development of interimperial trade the first effort of Unionist effort." The proceedings, in fact, created a widespread expectation that before long the referendum would be dropped and the party left free to enter the next election upon a tariff-imperial preference basis should the Imperial Conference and the economic conference to be held in the Autumn indicate that such a policy would be acceptable to the dominions.

Subsequent events somewhat dramatically strengthened this opinion. On July 4 fourteen bankers, among whom were Reginald McKenna and other great figures in the British financial world, issued a manifesto urging that Great Britain place a tariff on all goods imported from foreign countries, while retaining an open market for empire products. This action constituted a volte face by British bankers, and if it fairly represents banking opinion, which is denied by free traders, is an event of great significance. That Mr.

McKenna, chairman of the Midland Bank, an outstanding Liberal and Chancellor of the Exchequer in the coalition "free trade" administration, should have signed the declaration particularly struck the British imagination.

The bankers' manifesto and its reception revealed not only the growing strength of protectionism, but also gave evidence that the recently enacted American tariff bill was a mighty force behind the movement in that direction. The declaration set forth that the financier's old hope that Britain's economic pacifism would be reciprocated had vanished. While still hoping for the ultimate extension of the area of free trade, the bankers now believed "that the immediate step for securing and extending the market for British goods lies in reciprocal trade agreements between the nations constituting the British Empire." No form of duty, even that upon food, it was understood, was to be ruled out, provided that it is necessary to an imperial agreement.

Speaking editorially, the London *Daily Telegraph* declared: "There will be consternation abroad among those who have always dreaded a change, but have been too selfish to avert it by a decent show of reciprocity." The London *Financial Times* said: "It is no use preaching free trade to countries who demonstrate that they will have none of it by raising their tariffs ever higher. Plainly in a world bent on this course we must use the same weapons." These remarks, and many others of like tenor were, of course, directed at European countries as well as the United States. However, the new American tariff was foremost in the minds of those who advocated a British tariff as a measure of economic self-defense.

Concerning the significance of the bankers' manifesto J. L. Garvin declared in the London *Observer* that it marked the end of the great free trade chapter in British economic history that opened with Cobden: "Financial London has renounced free trade in favor of the economic integration of the Empire. It is the end of an epoch. In imperial consolidation lies safety."

The representatives of some of the great British banks, however, were not alone in supporting "Empire Trade Unity." The British Chamber of Commerce, the Federation of British Industries, and even the economic committee of the Trades Union Congress had previously indorsed the same policy. The action of the latter body was of particular significance, because it indicated that the forces of trade unionism might be placed behind protection and imperial preference instead of the free trade policy of the Labor party and the MacDonald Government. The report of the committee will be submitted at the annual meeting of the Congress in September.

Meanwhile, on July 7, Mr. Baldwin, as leader of the Opposition, introduced a motion censuring the government for failing to promote prosperity "by safeguarding the home market against unfair foreign competition and by expanding the export market by reciprocal trade agreements with the empire overseas"; and by arbitrarily excluding from consideration "the imposition of duties upon foreign foodstuffs devised to obtain equivalent advantages for British manufactures and agriculture in the empire markets and elsewhere." This motion was regarded by the press as designed to drive a wedge between the free traders and the protectionists in the Labor party. It was also taken as an indication that Mr. Baldwin was fast traveling in the direction of the Beaverbrook-Rothermere position. So far as the leadership of the Conservative party is concerned, however, events seem to have left Mr. Baldwin more firmly entrenched than before the party meeting of June 24. Furthermore, the selection of Neville Chamberlain as chairman of the party organization, the key position within the party machine, was felt to be a definite endorsement of the Baldwin leadership.

It is as yet too early to estimate the strength of the sentiment for protection and imperial preference that has been such an important factor in British politics during recent months. The Conservative scheme is practicable only

with the cooperation of the dominions, and that this cooperation will be forthcoming is, to say the least, problematical. Canada, it is true, as a reaction to the American tariff, has already taken steps toward preference. Press reports from South Africa indicate that the new proposals have found favor in influential quarters in that dominion. From Australia and New Zealand, however, the response has been unfavorable. Nevertheless, the decks are being cleared for serious consideration of the subject at the coming Imperial Conference, and it may be, as Mr. Garvin has said, that the British Empire is at the cross-roads of both fiscal and imperial policy.

Parliamentary and other events of the past two months have kept before the public the inability of the Labor Government to solve the unemployment problem within a short time, or to carry out in this Parliamentary session more than a small proportion of the legislative program called for by its electoral pledges. Prime Minister MacDonald in the House of Commons on June 18 proposed a three-party conference on unemployment. His suggestion was accepted by Mr. Lloyd George on behalf of the Liberals, but the Conservatives refused to participate, on the ground that as safeguarding was barred from discussion, and as they believed that to be the only means by which prosperity could be regained, a conference could serve no practical purpose. At about the same time Mr. MacDonald met with local officials from all parts of England and urged that the local governments cooperate in accelerating employment plans involving local public works. Early in July he proposed legislation intended to reduce red tape in connection with the Parliamentary sanction normally required before many local works can be undertaken. There was no evidence, however, that these measures had any appreciable effect on unemployment, for on July 9 it was officially announced that the total number of unemployed in Great Britain had reached 1,890,000. This was 75,253

more than the previous week and 748,218 more than a year before.

Although it had been generally realized for some time that the government could not carry through its legislative program during this session, the formal announcement of the bills to be dropped, which was made on June 26, did not tend to raise the credit of the Ministry among its own followers. Important measures not even introduced included the Consumers' Council Bill, the Education Bill (to raise the compulsory school age from 14 to 15), the Trade Disputes Bill (to amend the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions act of 1927), the Hours of Industrial Employment Bill, the Factories Bill and the Land Valuation Bill. Ministerial announcement that certain measures will be dropped is regularly made at about this stage of a Parliamentary session, and is called in the House of Commons "the slaughter of the innocents." That so many measures vital to the Labor party's avowed program to secure "socialism in our time" should be thrown overboard seemed to be disheartening and disillusioning to many who believed that a Labor Government would be able to produce results that the old order had never achieved within the period of a session or even the life of a Parliament.

The MacDonald Government escaped defeat in the House of Common on July 9 when by only three votes (278 to 275) an amendment to the finance bill was rejected. The amendment, proposed by the Liberals, sought to exempt companies from income tax on that part of their profits devoted to new factory equipment and machinery. The government was saved by a number of Liberals who refused to follow the advice of their leader, David Lloyd George. One result of this attempt to defeat the government was to make it apparent that any sort of compact between Prime Minister MacDonald and Lloyd George was out of the question.

Two old and important London newspapers, the *Daily Chronicle* and the *Daily News*, were amalgamated on June 2, and are now published as a

single journal, the *Daily News and Chronicle*. The *News* was founded in 1846 with Charles Dickens as its first editor. The *Daily Chronicle* was first published in 1855. Both papers were Liberal, and their amalgamation will create a great Liberal organ with a circulation of 1,600,000. In the first issue of the new paper it was stated that "under modern conditions newspaper production is a highly organized and costly enterprise which must be carried out on the largest possible scale if popular daily journals are to give their readers the best and fullest news service, deal adequately with politics, commerce, art, literature, drama, sport and other matters of public interest, and also offer to their advertisers a wide publicity." "Rationalization," therefore, is as necessary in journalism as in any other great industry. At the same time it was pointed out that although there are fewer morning newspapers published in London today than there were twenty years ago, the number is still larger than in New York.

The seventh Lambeth Conference of the Anglican Church opened on July 5 with 300 Bishops present from all parts of the world. Closer unity among all of the Protestant denominations, and the problems of the Church in its relationship with youth were the outstanding subjects listed for consideration.

CANADA—In a strenuous campaign extending from coast to coast the Liberal and the Conservative, together with several minor parties, strove to win every possible seat in the general election set for July 28. R. B. Bennett, the Conservative leader, sought to make unemployment the paramount issue of the campaign. With more than 200,000 men out of work and the number rising, Mr. Bennett promised that if elected he would call a special session of Parliament to deal with this problem. Prime Minister King countered with the statement that a special session would cost \$2,000,000 and could do nothing that could not be better done by the conference on unemploy-

ment which the Liberal Government has already summoned.

The Conservatives also tried to place upon the Liberal Government responsibility for the fact that the present population of the Dominion is 1,300,000 less than it would have been had the country retained the whole of the natural increase of the last ten years, plus the immigrants who have arrived for settlement. In other words, the charge was that the Liberal party in office had so mismanaged the country that more than 1,000,000 citizens or prospective citizens had crossed the border into the United States.

Concerning the new tariff, the position of the Conservatives was that in adopting it the Liberals abandoned their party principles and platform promises for electioneering purposes, and, besides, drafted a law that would work to the country's disadvantage in that the preference granted to Great Britain was not made contingent upon trade advantages to be given to Canadian products in the British market. In his campaign speeches Mr. Bennett promised that if given a Parliamentary majority the Conservatives would seek to foster agriculture, particularly the dairy and live stock branches, which, in his view, had been sadly neglected; to support a plan for greater interimperial trade based on mutual advantage; to develop other foreign markets; to evolve a national fuel policy and an old-age pension scheme, and to improve the Canadian system of internal transport by the completion of the Hudson Bay route, with the necessary branches of the St. Lawrence waterway and of a direct outlet to the sea for the Peace River country and by establishment of a national highway system.

The general election was fought in 245 constituencies by about 600 candidates. The electorate included about 4,000,000 eligible voters.

According to a statement issued on June 18 by the Dominion Department of Trade and Commerce, Canada exported to the United States more than \$26,000,000 in commodities covered by the countervailing duties in the new

tariff act, while the United States shipped to Canada about \$8,000,000 worth of the same classes of goods. Live cattle constituted the most important Canadian export to the United States to be affected by the new tariff, totaling more than \$12,200,000 in value. On the other hand, the cattle imported into Canada from south of the border were almost of negligible value. Eggs, oats, potatoes, butter and flour are among the other commodities affected.

Rules of procedure for Ontario's newly created divorce court, announced on June 21, excited wide interest throughout Canada. The regulations provide for public trial without a jury in divorce cases. The plaintiffs are required to file an affidavit that they believe the allegations to be true, and the plaintiff's attorney must make affidavit that he has investigated the allegations and believes that there is no collusion. No judgment will be given by default. The defendant will be given ten days in which to file an answer, which must be supported by affidavit. The interests of the State will be represented by the Attorney General, as by the King's Proctor in England, and this official may be represented at the trial. Before the creation of the court divorce could be obtained in Ontario only by special act of Parliament.

Absorption of the Anglo-American Pulp and Paper Mills, Ltd., by the Canada Power and Paper Corporation, which was announced on June 10, made the latter company the largest newsprint producer in the British Empire, and possibly in the world. The company now has a daily output of 2,500 tons per day. The amalgamation opens a large British market to the products of the combined companies, as Lord Rothermere, the British newspaper magnate, who was the head of the Anglo-Canadian company, has become one of the large shareholders in the new organization. The new enterprise, the London *Daily Mail*, one of Rothermere's papers, stated, "will weld British and Canadian capital in the development of the largest newsprint manu-

facturing corporation in the British Empire."

The Conservative Government of Premier Baxter was returned to power in the general election held in the Province of New Brunswick on June 19.

AUSTRALIA—On July 9 Prime Minister Scullin introduced the Commonwealth budget in the House of Representatives. It showed a deficit of \$68,000,000 and proposed various means of meeting this, particularly by new customs and excise taxes. A high protective tariff wall is to be erected both for the increase of revenue and also to foster the development of Australia's primary and secondary industries. The budget likewise recommends a sales tax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on all commodities sold in the country unless specifically exempted, and a general increase in the income taxes. Postage rates also are to be raised. With economy at home and decreased borrowing abroad, Mr. Scullin declared that a favorable balance of trade should result, thus enabling the Commonwealth to meet future commitments on overseas debt and to overcome the present severe economic depression.

The inclusion of \$5,000,000 for the relief of unemployment in the estimates for the coming fiscal year was announced on June 12 by the Commonwealth Government. The money will be distributed among the States in proportion to their respective populations, but it was stated that owing to exceptional circumstances in South Australia the other States had agreed to its receiving more than its proportionate share.

A sensation was created on July 4 by the report of a Royal Commissioner appointed to inquire into the purchase of the Mungana Mines by the Queensland State Government that Ernest G. Theodore, former Premier of the State and now Treasurer of the Commonwealth, along with three others, had been guilty of fraud and dishonesty in procuring the State to purchase the property. Mr. Theodore, who had been designated

Acting Prime Minister of Australia during Mr. Scullin's absence at the Imperial Conference in London, resigned his office pending further investigation of the charges against him. He declared that the accusations were false.

NEW ZEALAND—Sir Joseph Ward, who resigned his office of Prime Minister on May 15, died at Wellington on July 7 at the age of 74. His career had been closely identified with the development of New Zealand for nearly half a century and he had been long prominent in the larger sphere of imperial affairs by his advocacy of a British imperial federation. He was a Member of the New Zealand Parliament for thirty-seven years and had served as Cabinet Minister on several occasions and more than once as Prime Minister.

MALTA—The struggle between the Church and the State in Malta has resulted in a virtual temporary suspension of the Constitution and the indefinite postponement of the elections which were one of the chief causes of the deadlock between Archbishop Cerauna and Lord Strickland, the Governor of the colony. The Church's side of the dispute was presented in a White Book of 200 pages issued by the Vatican on June 21. The position of the Church is that the struggle is essentially religious, not political, and that the ecclesiastical authorities in Malta had acted within their rights. Lord Strickland is pictured as an obstinate, overbearing troublemaker, who is responsible for the existing impasse. Thus far the British Government has supported Lord Strickland, who arrived in London on June 16 to present his side of the story to the Colonial Office. It was announced upon his return to the island on July 3, however, that he would remain for only a short time in Malta. There, apparently, it was felt that his withdrawal would open the way to a settlement between the ecclesiastical and the political authorities of the island.

INDIA

THE INDIAN SCENE changes rapidly, and the voluminous report of the Simon Commission (summarized in pages 871-881 of this magazine) was not at all a conclusive act of the British Government. At the opening of the new India House in London on July 8, King George made an impressive plea for a "wider sympathy" between the peoples of India and Britain. Without any definite appeal for conciliation he referred to India's advance to "her assured place among the great peoples of the earth" and to her unity with "the great Commonwealth of which she is a part."

Of far wider import was the speech on the following day by Lord Irwin, Viceroy of India, at the opening of the Legislative Assembly at Simla. Reviewing briefly the changes in India during the last decade and more he said: "When I came to India, I came with one dominant conception of the work which in this generation a Viceroy must set out to try to do. Amid all his duties of administration as the head of a great government, no Viceroy, as it seemed to me, could for one moment forget that the principal duty which he owed * * * was to devote all his energies to the maintenance of a progressive, orderly and contented India within the orbit of the British Commonwealth." Referring to the Simon report, he said that it should not be regarded as settling a constitution for India or in any way restricting the forthcoming round-table conference at London. Dominion status, which the report did not mention, is still to be regarded, he declared, as the natural completion of India's constitutional growth.

The civil disobedience movement of Gandhi and his followers was severely denounced in the Viceroy's speech:

In my judgment and in that of my government it is a deliberate attempt to coerce established authority by mass action, and for this reason, as also because of its natural and inevitable developments, it must be regarded as unconstitutional and dangerously subversive.

Mass action, even if it is intended by its promoters to be non-violent, is nothing but the application of force under another form, and when it has its avowed object the making of a government impossible the government is bound either to resist or abdicate.

Lord Irwin greatly deplored clashes between the government and the opponents of British policy, but he put the entire blame on the latter. Yet, he declared, he had no desire to do anything but help India in her aspirations and urged full support of the round table conference where there may be discovered "once for all a more excellent way in which Britain and India, to the benefit of each, can walk together." In conclusion Lord Irwin said:

It seems, therefore, utter tragedy that, at a moment when the chances of a settlement were perhaps better than they ever have been, and with the stage set for a free and unbiased consideration of the whole problem, the party of Congress should have thrown aside the finest opportunity India has ever had. I would hope it might yet not be too late for wiser counsels to prevail by which all the political thought of India might be harnessed to the task of welding into unity the elements that compose her life, and in conjunction with Britain devising the best means for giving constitutional expression to them.

The London press was completely split by Lord Irwin's speech. The *Daily Herald*, representing the opinion of the Labor party, said that nothing had been altered by the Simon report as to ultimate dominion status: "It must be recognized that whatever the merits and demerits of the Simon plan, it had been declared even by the most moderate Indian leaders to be entirely unacceptable. Even among the Moslems there are very few to praise it." The *Daily Mail* gathered from the Viceroy's address that the Simon report "is now to be tossed into the wastepaper basket, because it does not fit in with the Viceroy's silly dreams. The danger of placing a dreamy, sentimental semi-Socialist in charge of India has been

emphasized by the whole passage of events." The *Daily Telegraph*, expressing the Conservative point of view, also attacked the Viceroy and his speech: "When Lord Irwin—whose speech will be read with a deep sinking of the heart by all who believe that the qualities most wanted at the head of affairs in India now are sharp precision and

iron resolution—says the conference will be free to approach its task greatly assisted indeed but with its liberty unimpaired by the Simon report, he is just garlanding the sacrifice." The *Liberal News and Chronicle*, on the other hand, declared that nothing in the Viceroy's speech weakened the Simon report.

FRANCE AND BELGIUM

By OTHON G. GUERLAC

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THE TARDIEU MINISTRY, whose existence was at first somewhat precarious, seems to be gaining strength the longer it lasts. The positions of the majority and of the opposition may be considered fixed for the time being, the former recruiting from 320 to 340 votes while the minority oscillates between 240 and 280. That gives M. Tardieu a margin of 60, which is as much as a government could hope for in a Chamber constituted like that which resulted from the elections of 1928. Two interesting test votes illustrated this situation during the last week of June. One dealt with the financing of the government's much-heralded plan to improve the nation's roads, canals, docks, telephones and electric power, which is to be carried on in five yearly instalments. The other concerned the measures necessary to cope with the Indo-China situation.

In regard to the first issue the Opposition accused the government of financial recklessness in having dissipated the reserves accumulated in the Treasury by the thrifty management of Messrs. Poincaré and Chéron. That, the Opposition declared, was why the government could not find the 5,000,000,000 francs called for by the first instalment of the national improvement plan. M. Tardieu, answering the skillful attack of the Socialist financier, Vincent Auriol, had no difficulty

in showing that the 19,000,000,000 francs in the Treasury in November, 1929, were expended only to the extent of 7,944,000,000, leaving 11,306,000,000 in the Treasury, 5,980,000,000 of which are available for the improvement program. As for replenishing the military stores, which the Socialists claimed had been completely depleted, the government replied that it had not lost sight of the necessity of keeping them at the level required by the necessities of national defense. The Chamber approved M. Tardieu's statement by 330 against 262, and the majority applauded with a peculiar glee the good-natured but telling blows that the Premier, with his customary aggressiveness, dealt at his opponents, whose concern for army stocks appeared somewhat unexpected.

On the second issue, the problem of Indo-China, the Opposition wished to close the long debate that had been in progress several weeks by the appointment of a parliamentary and extra-parliamentary commission to investigate the situation and propose remedies. M. Tardieu, jealous of the prerogatives of the executive, refused to accept this proposal and the Chamber supported him by 321 to 261.

Yet Parliament and public are agreed that serious reforms are necessary to correct the abuses and mistakes in the administration of Indo-China for which both the military and civilian authori-

ties are to blame. M. Pietri, Minister of Colonies, was the first to recognize it in a three-hour address on June 13 in reply to the interpellations relative to the Yen-Bay revolt on Feb. 9, and the subsequent unrest in the colony. M. Daladier, former Minister of Colonies, who supported the radical motion for a commission of inquiry, likewise stressed the errors committed, pointing out that the Communist agitation complained of by many speakers was not the cause but the effect of the agitation. He stated that native labor has been exploited by modern slave-drivers, that the rural population is miserable and insufficiently protected, and that the more educated elements need not merely to be defended against the ill-treatment and insolence of subordinate officials but must be more largely associated in the administration of their affairs. The order of the day voted by the Chamber committed the government to a policy of "solidarity, generosity and justice toward the natives" while urging a vigorous repression of Communist agitation. On the other hand, the Paris Communists organized a huge demonstration in honor of the insurgents, while their spokesman in the Chamber, Deputy Doriot, advocated absolute independence for all colonies. Meanwhile, on June 17, thirteen Annamese Nationalists chiefs out of the thirty-nine sentenced to death were executed for the revolt of last February, among them the "great professor" Thai-Hoc. A letter that he is supposed to have addressed to the Deputies and which the Minister of Colonies states to be apocryphal summed up the main grievances of the natives against French rule, and asked that he alone be held responsible for what happened. This statement has given Thai-Hoc the prestige of a national hero and has made a deep impression on public opinion.

On July 8 the Tardieu Government narrowly escaped defeat and a forced resignation when attacked in the Senate on the age-old question of anticlericalism and freedom of instruction in the schools. The Prefect of one de-

partment had forbidden the local school administrators and inspectors to attend a meeting at which a well-known Paris political writer and critic of the government made an attack on the government because of its alleged slackness toward the doctrine of a secular state. This brought up the question of the government's vigorous support of the secular laws. At the end of the Senate debate only five votes saved Tardieu from defeat.

While the Radical-Socialists and the Socialists in Parliament continue to unite in voting against the government, they have not ceased in their papers and their speeches to oppose one another in their political views. The Socialist National Convention, held at Bordeaux during the week of June 8-14, stressed rather tactlessly the recent Socialist victories and announced what they termed the gradual dissolution of the Radical-Socialist party, whose members they aim at absorbing. M. Herriot felt called upon to answer these attacks and in a speech at Belfort turned the tables on his allies by pointing to their vacillation on the question of private property. For the first time, he showed, they had recognized the right of small landholders to the ownership of their farms, a novel concession made necessary to enable the Socialists to win over the farmers, but a serious departure from the orthodox Socialist doctrine. As to the taunts against his own party, M. Herriot replied that it remained the most powerful group in the Chamber, where it is able to uphold both the national and social interests of the people, the Socialists being committed to internationalism. Summing up the position of the Radical-Socialists, M. Herriot expressed it in the following motto: "Justice our aim, work our law, science our guide." Regarding the alliance with the National Republicans that has been advocated, M. Herriot feels it to be impossible as long as the government is "controlled by the Right."

Marshal Joffre was able to attend the dedication of his own statue. On June 21, in the presence of Presi-

dent Doumergue, the monument erected in his honor by the city of Chantilly, where he had his headquarters during the war, was unveiled while his work was praised by his fellow-academician, the historian Gabriel Hanotaux.

On June 12, by a vote of 561 against 13, the Chamber ratified the government's signature to the optional clause of the World Court statutes. It will be recalled that the optional clause of Article XXXVI gives the Permanent Court of International Justice compulsory jurisdiction in all questions relating to the construction of treaties and the power to fix damages for their violation. This article, written largely by Elihu Root, when the rules for the World Court were drafted at The Hague in 1920, has now been adopted by all the major powers with the exception of the United States and Japan. M. Briand, speaking in favor of ratification, delivered one of his customary orations, rehearsing once more all the instrumentalities now in existence for the peaceful settlement of conflicts. He was careful to stress the fact that they did not, however, give France the right to renounce, as yet, the necessary means of self-defense. Balancing skillfully the claims for security, dear to the Tardieu majority, with the facts that warrant faith in the ultimate extinction of war, he managed to unite in an almost unanimous vote the extreme Right, Centre and all the parties of the Left, minus the Communists. His appeal was strongly upheld by emphatic adhesion of the spokesmen of the Radical-Socialist and the Socialist parties, Herriot, Pierre Cot and Paul-Boncour. The last-named reverted again to the invariable French doctrine of the necessity of sanctions against the country that might refuse to arbitrate, while the young Radical speaker, Pierre Cot, contrasted the peaceful attitude of the French Parliament with the "strange praise of cannon and machine gun" recently heard from the mouth of the Italian dictator. M. Briand's scheme for a federation of Europe was touched upon in the debate. M. Herriot gave it a pledge of unqualified support, while

the Minister of Foreign Affairs bespoke for his project the good-will of all Frenchmen, since it would be one more obstacle on the road to war.

The final evacuation of the last zone of the Rhineland on June 30, five years before the date previously set, was received in France with satisfaction by the parties of the Left, with resignation tinged with misgiving by the National Republicans, with expressions of fear and indignation by the Nationalists. Those who accept it saw in it the logical consequence of the Locarno policy and The Hague agreements. Those who fear it pointed to what they call the unprotected frontier of France and the attitude of German Nationalists, who have neither learned nor forgotten anything. The attempt of the ultra-chauvinistic press like the *Action Française* to arouse French patriotism by flaming headlines like "The crime against the fatherland," seemed to fail to arouse the old passions, and M. Marin, a former Minister, spoke with regret, in a speech at Lyons, of what he called "the apathy of the French public toward the abandonment of the left bank of the Rhine." It is lucky for the peaceful acceptance of this manifestation of the Locarno spirit that it happened under a Ministry of the Right, as it is easier for M. Tardieu to impose such a policy on the Chamber than it would be for a Radical Ministry.

BELGIUM — While the festivities commemorating the centenary of Belgian independence reached their climax in July, each month has seen some manifestation of the pride of the Belgian people in their accomplishments during the century just elapsed. Delegations from many countries have visited the world's fair at Liège and the city of Mons invited representatives of the French press to examine their folklore exhibit.

Political passions, however, have not subsided. Twice Flemish Deputies, belonging to what is known as the Frontist party, have created an uproar in the Chamber by their attacks on France.

In one instance the Deputy Hermans asked that the Franco-Belgian treaty be investigated to reveal the so-called secret clauses that it is supposed to contain. The ex-Speaker, Emile Brunet, replied that the treaty of 1920 is exclusively defensive, and by a vote of 126 to 12 the motion was lost. Nothing daunted, the same Deputy and one of his colleagues spoke a little later on an appropriation bill for the centenary, denouncing the revolution of 1830 as "a French riot" resulting in "the oppression of the Flemish and the overthrow of the legal government of the country." Premier Jaspar indignantly left the Chamber while the Socialist Deputy from Antwerp, M. Huysmans, answered by showing that Belgium "is a European necessity and that Walloons and Flemish can live amicably within

the framework of their national institutions."

On July 4, as a protest against old age pension rates and the demands of foreign miners working in Belgium collieries, 25,000 miners went on strike, producing a serious condition in the Belgian coal mines.

In Belgium, as in France, more perhaps than in France, the new American tariff has caused serious concern. In fact, Belgium seems the country of Europe most directly concerned. With the exception of iron there is hardly any item of its national production that is not touched, bricks, glassware and cement being especially threatened. Unemployment is feared and there is some talk of denouncing the treaty with the United States based on the most-favored-nation clause.

THE TEUTONIC COUNTRIES

By *SIDNEY B. FAY*

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CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE SOLVING of Germany's intricate financial problems again interfered with the course of German politics. Financial difficulties in framing the budget caused the downfall of Dr. Mueller's Cabinet in March, with the subsequent establishment, under President Hindenburg's wing, of the present Bruening Cabinet with Professor Paul Moldenhauer as Minister of Finance. During June his efforts to meet the government's deficit were opposed by the Reichstag, and on June 20 his resignation was accepted by President Hindenburg.

The deficit has been steadily increased by the drain of money for the payment of unemployment doles, but relief proposals for an emergency income tax levied on salaried workers and for a reduction of wages and prices to stimulate German exports were not acceptable to the government. After some days, during which the appointment of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht to the Ministry of Finance was considered, President

Hindenburg appointed Dr. Herman R. Dietrich to that post. Though the Democratic party leader in the Reichstag, Dr. Dietrich does not command his party's approval of his financial measures, since it has reserved the right to accept or reject any proposals.

Chancellor Bruening, speaking before the Reichsrat on June 28, came out with an unexpectedly frank statement regarding the financial and business situation. He attributed a great part of the delay in regulating German finances to the world-wide depression in business, which has been further complicated by world-wide unemployment and by the raising of tariff barriers. Dr. Dietrich, the same day, presented his revised financial program to the Reichsrat. Its chief provisions were a tax on single men and women, a reduction of expenditures, and a special tax on government employes and workers earning over 8,000 marks a year.

In view of these difficulties it is interesting to sum up the report of S.

Parker Gilbert, the Agent General for Reparations, who, before laying down his work and turning over his responsibilities to the Bank of International Settlements, made a final survey of Germany's economic and financial condition. Its 350 compact pages constitute an almost encyclopedic analysis of German economic development under the Dawes plan.

Mr. Gilbert expresses confidence in the fundamental soundness of German industry and energy, and is convinced that the problem of reforming the public finances can be solved if the same efforts are applied to it that have been devoted to the economic reconstruction of the last five years. His main criticism is that there has been no effective recognition of the principle that the government should live within its income. An underlying fault of the German financial system, he says, is to be found in the division of responsibility between the authority which collects the taxes and the authority which spends the money. The Federal government collects the revenues, but it does not feel full responsibility for them, since it must pass over a large share of the proceeds to the States and communes. The latter, who spend too freely the revenues which are handed over to them, have fallen into the habit of expecting more and more from the Federal government.

Germany must reform these abuses, Mr. Gilbert declares. With the coming into force of the Young plan the German Government with full responsibility has a moral incentive to make the needed budgetary and administrative changes. Germany now knows for the first time the full extent of her international obligations and the German authorities should make their calculations with reference to these known liabilities. In this regard the coming into force of the Young plan marks a fundamental change in the situation: "It is in itself an act of confidence in Germany's good faith and financial integrity and it calls for a corresponding effort on the German side."

While Mr. Gilbert's earlier criticisms

have often been resented by the German press, there seems to be pretty general agreement that his recent words of warning are justified and should have a wholesome effect.

A movement for the lowering of price and wage levels to stimulate production and export and to overcome the present unemployment crisis in Germany was started during the early days of June. The movement, which began with the independent action of a small group of influential industrialists and immediately received the sympathetic attention of the trade unions, has since led to negotiations in the Federal Economic Council. The transfer of negotiations to the Reich's economic parliament was made because of complaints by the labor unions that lower wages were being forced through before lower price levels went into effect. Price reductions ranging from 4 to 7 marks a ton for semi-finished iron and steel products were voted on June 11 by the Rhenish and Westphalian producers. Wage cuts in iron and steel factories resulted in strikes on July 1.

The theory behind this new economic plan is that with world markets suffering from a period of contraction and reduced buying a 10 per cent reduction of prices (followed by a corresponding reduction in wages to be agreed to by the workmen) will mean a great deal more than in prosperous times. Germans hope that new markets will be gained by offering lower prices, and that when the economic depression gives place to improved conditions this reduction can be made up. Employers and employees are urged to unite in a common patriotic undertaking to accomplish by virtue of sheer moral force what a dozen post-war coalition Cabinets have failed to achieve—a non-political cooperation of capital and labor for the advancement of the nation's economy as a whole. This scheme, if it works, may turn out to be a brilliant piece of economic strategy for expanding the German export trade in the face of the present world-wide business depression.

The final indemnification award on June 11 of about \$82,000,000 to German shipping companies for wartime seizures by the United States has been hailed in Germany as marking a happy, although somewhat belated, ending to one of the many irritating consequences of the war. About 93 per cent of the money will be divided between the Hamburg-American and North German Lloyd lines and will greatly enhance their material resources. Of great significance, according to many papers, is the difference in the fundamental attitude of the United States and of Great Britain toward German private property in wartime. As the *Weser Zeitung* of Bremen puts it, the award is "a documentation of America's interpretation of the sanctity of private property, a thesis to which, unfortunately, the English Government has not yet subscribed."

The Polish and German Mixed Commission appointed to establish the facts as to a recent border incident in Upper Silesia, in which one man was killed, on June 7, failed, after lengthy deliberations, to agree on a joint report. The result was that the delegation drafted separate reports and agreed that they should be presented jointly to both governments.

Professor Adolf von Harnack died at Heidelberg after a brief illness on June 10. He had occupied the chair of church history at the Universities of Leipzig, Giessen, Marburg and Berlin. His standard work, *The History of Christian Dogma*, brought him great fame in the world of scholarship. He was a member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences and enjoyed to an unusual degree the confidence of the Kaiser.

AUSTRIA—On June 13 Parliament passed Dr. Schober's disarmament bill by a vote of 82 to 76; this marks the failure of the Heimwehr intrigues to oust the Chancellor from office so as to prevent the passage of the bill, which constitutes a mild threat to "private armies." The Socialists voted against the bill because their

motion for thorough disarmament of all private armies was rejected by the government. They characterized Dr. Schober's bill as merely throwing dust in the eyes of foreign countries and as being really powerless to disarm the Austrian Fascists.

Next day, however, the Chancellor struck unexpectedly at the extreme Fascist wing of the Heimwehr by ordering the arrest of Major Waldemar Pabst and his expulsion as an undesirable alien who was indulging in illegal political intrigues. This action was welcomed by a majority of the newspapers, but aroused bitter criticism among the Fascists. There is talk of his returning to some outlying part of Austria in Tyrol or Styria. Should he do so, the government might be considerably embarrassed, for it is doubtful whether the Federal Government at Vienna would be able to exert its authority against Pabst. He is a notorious German who came into prominence in connection with the assassination of the two extreme German Socialists, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, in 1919. Subsequently he organized the famous "Kapp Putsch" in 1920 against the German Republic, and after its failure fled to Austria to escape arrest for high treason.

In spite of the Austrian National Bank's reduction of the discount rate from 6 to 5½ per cent and of abundant foreign credits, the present conditions of industry are highly unfavorable. Receipts of the Austrian railways for the first four months of the year, for instance, were 14,000,000 schillings smaller than in the corresponding period last year. Austrian exports have declined considerably, the balance against the country in its trade with Germany during the first four months of 1930 having amounted to 85,000,000 schillings, and in its trade with Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia to 177,000,000.

On June 16, Michael Hainisch, Austrian Minister of Commerce, resigned his office as a protest against the recent commercial treaty signed between Austria and Hungary.

SPAIN, ITALY AND PORTUGAL

By EDITH FAHNESTOCK

PROFESSOR OF SPANISH, VASSAR COLLEGE

THE MONTH of June in Spain was a critical period, characterized by continued strikes and by the fluctuation and depreciation of the peseta, but after the beginning of July conditions improved. In spite of there being plenty of gold in the Bank of Spain and no excess of paper money, the series of slumps in the value of the peseta continued until toward the end of June; the rate of 9.32 pesetas to the dollar brought it to the lowest level since the Spanish-American war. Bankers and officials of the Bank of Spain agreed that the depreciation was due more to psychological than to material causes, and attributed it to the confused political situation resulting from the overthrow of the dictator. Other factors mentioned were the excessive expenditures of the dictatorship, the petroleum monopoly with the exportation of capital to buy Russian and American oil, the costly expositions of Barcelona and Seville, the importation of luxuries and the social unrest manifested in strikes in various parts of Spain.

The Berenguer Cabinet on July 1 decided on stabilization, which involved unification of the budget, and after certain transitional measures a return to a gold standard. This will take time and the government may wait until the Cortes or Parliament is convened in November or December. In the meantime the settlement of strikes in various cities, the denial of an impending Cabinet crisis and Berenguer's statement that the King would not cut short his stay in England because of conditions in Spain revived public confidence, and the peseta rose again on July 4, to 8.66 to the dollar.

By the end of June the strikes, which had continued spasmodically during the month in various centres, had practically subsided. In Seville, after the riots of the preceding days, all industries

were functioning normally. The Bilbao iron workers had returned to work and the strike of the Cordoba farm laborers had ended. On July 1 the Berenguer Cabinet declared all agitators guilty of acts of sedition and subject to punishment accordingly. It also urged public opinion to uphold this action so that the government might not be forced to adopt harsher measures. The farmers of the Valencia and Valladolid districts who were involved in riots with the civil guard in their revolt for a fixed minimum price for wheat about the middle of June were appeased by the Cabinet's decision to fix the price of wheat at 46-48 pesetas per 100 kilos—and by the promise to import no foreign wheat. Moreover, a joint order issued by the executive committees of the only two important labor organizations in Spain, the Union of General Workers (*Union General de Trabajadores*) and the Socialist Labor Party (*Confederacion General de Trabajadores*), to their members in all parts of Spain, has commanded that those affiliated with these organizations should participate in no movement unauthorized by them, since such isolated movements only weaken the revolutionary spirit of the worker and hinder effective action in the future.

The most significant event in recent Spanish politics is the conference which the King, on his way to England, held in Paris on June 22 with Santiago Alba, a former Liberal Minister, who has been living in exile in France since the beginning of the dictatorship. He has consistently opposed the King for permitting the dictatorship and destroying constitutional government. The conference was held at the King's request, and it is said that the King saw and approved a statement of the interview which Alba gave to the press, in which he "expressed his ideas of how the political and constitutional

question should be settled, and declared for sincere and honest elections and for reformation of the Constitution by a Cortes in such a manner as to create an essentially democratic and parliamentary régime in Spain under a limited monarchy such as exists in England and Belgium. In this transformation, Señor Alba insisted, the crown must take the leading rôle, giving to the people definite guarantees. * * * Señor Alba expressed himself as favorable to the maintenance of the Berenguer Cabinet and urged that at a moment so grave for the future of Spain it was the duty of all parties to unite and help toward a solution." He insisted that there must be an extension of representation in the government and that elections must be held as soon as possible. He said that he was averse to assuming the Premiership in Spain and would not accept such an invitation until universal suffrage had been instituted in freely conducted elections. But he was prepared to lend his cooperation in aiding Spanish rehabilitation.

Comments on the interview varied. Berenguer was quoted in Madrid as foreseeing the formation of a party with Alba, Romanones and Count Alhucemas as leaders—an important fusion of Liberal groups. *Le Temps*, on June 23, regarded Alfonso as "inclined to entrust the Premiership to Alba along lines acceptable to him. New conditions would come to Spain if Liberals of all shades, Reformists, Republicans and Socialists, will agree to form a government truly based on a desire to obey the popular will." *Le Temps* further considered the conference one of the most important events in Spanish history since the adoption of the Constitution in 1876.

If astute politicians like Alba and some of the other Liberals see their personal advantage with the monarchy rather than on the edge of a republican movement, they may, by uniting around the monarchy, save it. But on the other hand, if the King surrenders to some of the ideals of the Left in return for Liberal support, he faces an essential

change in the character of the monarchy, which may become a limited one such as exists in England and Belgium.

Another indication of stabilization was the King's revocation of Primo de Rivera's edict of 1923, forbidding the provinces to fly their own flags. The King has the support of the Regionalist League in Catalonia, where the effort to gain political independence appears to be less strong. A Royal review, the pledge to the flag of the new recruits, recently took place for the first time in six years in a suburb of Madrid. Nevertheless, it is to be observed that the curb on the foreign press has increased, and after Marcelino Domingo's speech in favor of revolution at the Ateneo on June 24, the government forbade all political speeches at that club.

ITALY—Among the points included in Foreign Minister Grandi's speech to the Italian Senate on July 4, which called forth varying comments in the foreign press, were his justification of Italy's claim to naval parity with France; Italy's willingness to withhold her 1930 building program, provided that France will do likewise, pending a settlement of the negotiations suspended at the London Naval Conference, and the expression of the principle that disarmament should be the means of obtaining security, and that security itself is not a means but an end. "The logical order should not be security, then arbitration, and finally disarmament, but disarmament, arbitration, and then security."

The contrast between the moderate tone of Grandi and the truculence of Mussolini's recent speeches is striking. The explanation of this contrast quoted by *The Manchester Guardian* from *Le Temps* is that Rome has two ways of pursuing the same policy, one to create an atmosphere at home by exciting the zeal of the Fascist masses, the other to create an atmosphere abroad by presenting Italian diplomacy under the most favorable aspect.

The Fascist Government in Rome has been unwilling to negotiate with France through diplomatic channels, and

Briand appears to have been unwilling to negotiate directly with Signor Grandi. Matters relating to Franco-Italian relations in early July, therefore, seemed to be at a standstill, with evidences of growing suspicion on both sides.

The Italian Cabinet Council had on June 28 decided to increase the tax on foreign exchange transactions to 1½ per cent, an increase which would provide an additional revenue of \$35,000,000. Of this amount \$10,000,000 was to be devoted to agrarian development, public works and the relief of unemployment. The bulk of the revenue, \$25,000,000, was for the 10 per cent increase in military expenses. This increase was announced to be a direct result of France's preparations for fortifying her Alpine frontier. The way had been prepared for the Italian levy when the Minister of Finance in speeches in the Senate and the Chamber stressed his policy of retrenchment, but added that if additional revenue were needed to insure the safety of the country, the taxpayers would willingly supply it.

The Vatican directory for the current year gives the title of Pope Pius XI as Sovereign of Vatican City, instead of Sovereign of the Temporal Domains of the Church. The Pope has created five new Cardinals, three Italian, one French and one Brazilian. At this ceremony, speaking of causes for

rejoicing and causes for sorrow, the Pope referred in the latter connection to Protestants in Italy who have been proselytizing since 1870, and denounced recent legislation which appears to favor this proselytism and which, he said, was in strong contrast to the solemn spirit of the Lateran treaties.

PORTUGAL—A revolutionary attempt to overthrow the dictatorship of President Oscar Carmona was easily thwarted on July 4 by the arrest of Colonel Joao Almeida, a monarchist leader. Other groups, including Democrats, were involved in the plot and several civilians were also arrested. It was reported semi-officially that recent appeals of the Oliveira Cabinet to politicians for help in restoring normal constitutional conditions were wrongly interpreted as signs of weakness. In any case the moment was not well chosen, for in this, the fourth year of President Carmona's dictatorship, Portugal claims to be financially sound, with a balanced budget, government loans over-subscribed, and internal conditions greatly improved.

The Governor General of West Africa, Colonel Bento Roma, has resigned, it is reported, and the inference is that recent criticism of Portuguese Colonial Administration is probably responsible for his resignation.

EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

By *FREDERIC A. OGG*

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FOR THE ELEVENTH TIME the Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente—Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia—met in conference, this time on June 25-27 at Strbske Pleso, in the Tatra Mountains in Czechoslovakia. Considerable importance attached to the meeting because it was expected that measures would

be adopted to prevent the return to the Hungarian throne of Archduke Otto, eldest son of the late Emperor Charles.

The application of The Hague and Paris reparations agreements to the three States concerned was also discussed, as were also land reform and the development of closer economic co-operation. As a step in the latter direc-

tion Dr. Benes and Dr. Mironescu, on June 27, signed a commercial treaty whereby Czechoslovakia and Rumania made a special customs arrangement, including reciprocal most-favored-nation treatment. Full accord in principle was reached concerning the reply to be made to the Briand memorandum for a European union, the three States agreeing to send separate replies in identical terms, and to leave particular reservations until the discussion of the proposals at Geneva.

RUMANIA—The dramatic return of Prince Carol to Bucharest on June 6 and his subsequent recognition as King created a confused situation from which court circles, the government and the country at large have as yet by no means fully emerged. At the court, the outstanding question was whether the Princess Helen, former wife of Carol and mother of the displaced boy-King Michael, would consent to a reconciliation with the truant husband from whom she was divorced some years ago. Proceeding on the theory that the events of the past five years have simply been expunged from the record, Carol from the outset demanded and expected a full reconciliation. Princess Helen, however, could neither forget nor forgive so readily. The earliest interviews between the estranged pair were strained, and to the date of writing not all the influence of the Queen Mother Marie, Professor Jorga and other intercessors has availed to bring the proudly indifferent ex-wife to the point of surrender, although on July 3 it was reported that the King and his former consort were visiting each other frequently and that an eventual reconciliation was rather generally expected.

The first effect of Carol's accession politically was to upset the Peasant Government presided over by M. Maniu. Foreign Minister Mironescu formed a government, which, however, lasted only a few days. After much wavering, the Liberal party, led by Vintila Bratianu, decided to stand by its earlier hos-

tility to Carol's accession, and hence the King's only course was to keep the Peasant forces in power. On June 11, he sent for ex-Premier Maniu and invited him to form a new ministry, and although the latter sought to evade the task, two days afterward he yielded and made up a Cabinet almost identical with that which retired a few days earlier. It was announced, however, that M. Maniu would at once take a three months' leave because of ill health.

Naturally, it fell to the new monarch to give various interviews and to make numerous public statements. The tone assumed was generally conciliatory. "There is a tremendous task to be done here," he declared to the well-known Parisian editor Sauerwein, "which must be begun by absolute maintenance of our foreign policy, while at the same time strengthening the country economically and reorganizing the army. The head of my Cabinet will devote himself particularly to reconstructing the economic situation. This country has vast resources, and we must make them productive. * * * Restored to a normal régime and enjoying the advantages of stability, Rumania can now aspire to that high place in Europe acquired by her victory in the World War."

In a speech in Parliament on June 14, M. Maniu, on his first appearance at the head of his new government, cleared up some uncertainties about the way in which the accession of the new King was brought about. The Prince's return, he said, was no coup d'état, but a measure carried out with the previous consent of the government. Carol, it was stated, had informed the government of his wish to return, and the government, supported by the Regency, had agreed. M. Maniu added that Carol, after arriving at Bucharest, informed the government that he was willing to abide by the decision of the National Assembly as to whether he should be Regent or King. The Assembly decided he should be King, and it was subsequently announced that his coronation will take place at Alba Julia in

October. On June 30 Parliament was dissolved.

HUNGARY—The sensational return of Prince Carol to Rumania and his prompt elevation to the throne gave rise to rumors throughout Europe in late June to the effect that the supporters of Archduke Otto (who will come of age on Nov. 20) were planning by a somewhat similar coup d'état to place him on the long-vacant throne of Hungary. According to one story, which apparently emanated from Prague, the youthful Legitimist claimant was to leave Belgium with an escort of Belgian Nationalist students, and meanwhile 35,000 Italian officers and men were to be smuggled into Hungary and stationed at points from which they could march to Budapest in support of the coup. Every rumor on the subject was categorically denied, and it was pointed out that even if an attempt should ultimately be made to restore the Habsburg monarchy in the country, the present was far from being an opportune moment. Otto was too young; the Succession States were too hostile; and the grip of the existing régime of Admiral Horthy and Premier Bethlen was too firm. Later, when the existing authorities should become ready to turn over the reins to other hands, and when Otto should be older and more mature, the step might be attempted with much better chance of success.

Color was lent the charge that plans of some kind were afoot by a Legitimist meeting at Nagy Kanizsa on June 22, at which the consensus of opinion clearly was that, as expressed by Count Aladar Zichy, Hungary can "become a sovereign member State of Europe only if and when Otto is placed on the throne."

At the opening session of the Tatra conference of the Little Entente the matter was discussed at length. It is understood that the Yugoslav delegates demanded that the three powers declare themselves unequivocally opposed to a Habsburg restoration; that Dr. Benes, speaking for Czechoslovakia,

urged that any unnecessary sharpness of tone toward Hungary be avoided; and that the decision was to take all possible steps to obstruct the restoration but to avoid any public pronouncements capable of being regarded as offensive to Hungarian sentiment. Meanwhile, Premier Bethlen, on his way home from London, suddenly changed his itinerary so as to meet Premier Mussolini. Although nothing was given out, it is reasonable to suppose that the restoration question loomed prominently in the conversations between the two statesmen.

Fresh anxiety was aroused on July 2, when it was learned that Prince Otto had arrived in Geneva. Most people, however, were inclined to doubt whether, if a plot were really on foot, the pretender would have anything to gain by going there; and in the end it proved that he had no purpose beyond attending the International Association football matches, in which a Hungarian team was participating. On the previous day Count Albert Apponyi had declared, at a great Legitimist meeting at Olenburg, that the Prince's supporters do not plan to make him King of Hungary by a coup d'état, executed after smuggling him into the country, but only as a result of an honest agreement with the whole nation. The external situation, he went on to say, was not ripe for any action of the kind, and every rumor of a "putsch" was mere fantasy.

While the Legitimist leader was making these reassuring statements, Dr. Eduard Benes was asserting in the newspaper *Venkov* that any attempt to restore Otto would meet with the strongest resistance, being a violation of agreements that exist not only between Hungary and the great powers, but between the great powers and the Little Entente on this question.

POLAND—The impasse in which the deadlock between the dictatorial government and the Parliamentary opposition has long involved the republic shows no sign of being terminated. On June 20, Senators and Depu-

ties of the Left and peasant groups, mustering 160 votes in the Sejm and representing more than 5,000,000 voters, organized a new anti-government block and unanimously demanded the resignation of the government, and particularly that of Marshal Pilsudski, who was held responsible for the dictatorship régime and all its consequences. In turn, on the following day, the extraordinary session of the Sejm, which the President was compelled to convoke, but which has never met, was declared closed by Presidential decree.

It being now apparent that the Opposition's duel with Marshal Pilsudski must be fought outside, not inside parliamentary halls, the six parties forming the new bloc arranged for a great public meeting on Sunday, June 29, in Cracow's largest square, to launch the newly planned mobilization of the nation against the dictatorship. On the appointed day 20,000 people, including delegations from many distant towns, jammed into the meeting place and listened to speeches by representatives of the different parties. A resolution was unanimously voted demanding the resignation of President Moscicki and the end of the dictatorial régime. "The nation's confidence in law," declared the resolution, "has been shaken and Parliament has been silenced. The whole country must mobilize in defense of freedom, for without removal of the dictatorship, the country's difficulties cannot be solved and the economic crisis cannot be overcome."

The government made no attempt to prevent the meeting, though various means were employed to reduce the attendance. Tickets to Cracow were refused at certain railroad stations. Buses were stopped on roads leading to Cracow and peasants' carts were held up at the city gates. Forged telegrams were sent to Opposition leaders informing them of postponement of the conference and a dissolution of the six-party agreement. Moreover, on July 3 it was reported that ex-Premier Witos and some thirty other prominent politicians and members of Parliament were

to be prosecuted as authors of the resolution against the dictatorship.

BULGARIA—Repercussions of the reconstruction of the Liaptcheff Cabinet in the middle of May have been generally unfavorable, if not positively alarming. The most signal change was the appointment as Minister of Education of Professor Jitka Tsankoff, who succeeded Stambulisky as Premier in 1923 and held office until displaced by M. Liaptcheff in 1926. The significance of Professor Tsankoff's return to public life lies in the fact that, on the strength of his earlier record, he is held to be the arch-enemy of the peasantry, as a large and needy class which at present is suffering the most unusual hardships because of the world-wide overproduction of cereals and the resulting depression of agriculture. Bulgaria is, indeed, in the throes of the worst agrarian crisis that the country has ever known. Thousands of the landless peasantry, and even of those with small tracts of land, are literally starving.

That at this moment Professor Tsankoff, who seven years ago planned the coup d'état which overthrew Stambulisky's Agrarian Cabinet and culminated in the death of various Agrarian leaders (including Stambulisky himself), should return to office has greatly aggravated peasant discontent and brought renewed strength to the long-eclipsed Agrarian party. "All faith," an Agrarian leader declared to a correspondent of *The New York Times* on May 25, "in the government's ability to deal with the terrible economic crisis has gone; discontent is rising and has been intensified by the introduction of the enemy of the peasantry, Professor Tsankoff, into the Cabinet. The men of the conspiracy and of the coup d'état have returned to be flaunted like a red rag in the face of a bull before our hunger-maddened peasantry. Parliament is a farce. The government majority merely records automatically the decisions taken by the old camarilla of anti-Stambulisky conspirators outside Parliament. We Agrarian leaders are

alarmed at the uncontrollable state of peasant indignation. Unless King Boris quickly forms a neutral government with a mandate to hold elections at an early date we shall meet disaster."

In Yugoslav circles the reappearance of Professor Tsankoff is welcomed as an augury of sterner action against the Macedonian revolutionaries. Premier Liaptcheff has never, they complain, taken as strong a line as he might have done. Athanase Buroff, the Foreign Minister, has steadily urged him to act more forcefully, and now, it is believed, such advice will be reinforced by the influence of the new Education Minister. Results, it would seem, have already been attained in a general round-up of Macedonian revolutionaries late in June, in the course of which several persons believed responsible for a renewal of guerrilla warfare across the Yugoslav border were apprehended.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA — All prospect of the formation of the much-discussed bloc of the four Catholic parties in Czechoslovakia was ended early in June when the Czechoslovak People's party, one of the most important of the number, definitely announced that, while it will not be averse to such a step when the proper time comes, it is not favorably disposed at the present juncture. Since the parliamentary elections of October last all the Catholic groups have been in a weakened position.

A recently established society for the study of minority questions has addressed itself to a serious and dispassionate investigation of a number of racial problems which admittedly stand in the way of the fullest realization of Czechoslovak unity and strength. Addressing a deputation from the organization, President Masaryk, in the middle of June, uttered noble sentiments on the subject which can hardly fail to have a mollifying effect. He suggested, in addition to other things, that the ways in which minority questions have been met and largely solved in Switzerland and Belgium be given careful attention, even if the Czechoslovak situation admittedly presents features not duplicated in these or other countries.

GREECE—Replying on June 15 to a deputation of parliamentary members representing Greek refugees from Asia Minor, and protesting against the signature of the new Greco-Turkish agreement, Premier Venizelos said not only that his government was determined to ratify the agreement but that he himself hoped to go to Ankara in October to sign a treaty of friendship and arbitration with Turkey. He added that if opposition to the agreement grew, he would not hesitate to put the issue before the country by holding new elections. Later he appeared before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber and energetically reiterated his defense of his Turkish policy.

NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

By JOHN H. WUORINEN

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IN FINLAND the Agrarian Cabinet headed by K. Kallio resigned on July 2 as a result of the anti-Communist agitation which had been gaining ground since early Spring. The new Ministry, formed on July 5, is headed by the veteran statesman, ex-Senator P. E. Svinhufvud of the Union

party, and represents the first attempt since the Erich Ministry in 1921 to give the country a government composed of members of the majority of the parties. It is, in short, a coalition Ministry from which only the Socialists and Communists are excluded, and has come into office to combat com-

munism. Beginning as an inconspicuous movement in the Vaasa Province, anti-Communist agitation soon spread and created a situation with which the Kallio Ministry was unable to cope. It was compelled to acquiesce in the demand that the Communist press be outlawed and the circumstances likewise forced it to call an extra session of Parliament, which opened on July 1. The ensuing debate, which was marked by much turbulence, resulted in an adverse vote of 112 to 69. The distribution of portfolios among the parties composing the new bourgeois coalition Ministry is as follows: Union, 4; Progressive, 3; Agrarian, 3, and Swede-Finns, 2. H. Procope, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, is affiliated with no party. The formation of a government under the popular statesman, Svinhufvud, who distinguished himself as a staunch patriot during the pre-war years when Finland's Constitution was threatened by the high-handed policies of Russia, promises to improve the situation.

Acting upon the recommendation of Parliament, the government began early in June to prepare for an extensive investigation of the prohibition situation. According to a program accepted on June 19, four phases of the problem will receive special consideration: (1) Drunkenness in the cities; (2) the relation between alcohol and accidents, as revealed by hospital statistics; (3) alcohol as a cause of death, as disclosed by post-mortems, and (4) the consumption of strong drink. Three of the six members of the committee appointed to supervise the survey were associated with the alcohol committee of 1922, whose results were published during the four years following. The present investigation will be completed in the course of 1931.

ICELAND—A conspicuous event in the history of parliaments took place between June 23-28, when the people of Iceland celebrated the one-thousandth anniversary of their venerable Althing, the oldest parliamentary assembly in the world. Thousands from far and near, among them many Amer-

icans, were present. The official American delegation, led by Senator P. Norbeck of South Dakota, consisted of Representative O. B. Burtness of North Dakota, F. H. Fjelsdal of Detroit, Professor Sveinbjorn Johnson of the University of Illinois and O. P. J. Jacobson of St. Paul. The King and Queen of Denmark and official delegates from Norway, Sweden, Finland and England also attended. On the historic plain of Thingvellir, where the ancient Icelandic Parliament sat for about 900 years, more than 30,000 persons assembled to witness the ceremony of opening the Parliament in the same manner as in olden days. An impressive part of this session, which lasted three days, was the conclusion of a pact between the five Scandinavian nations, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Denmark. By a treaty of friendship and arbitration, signed on June 27, they pledged themselves never to go to war, but to submit all disputes to The Hague Court and to accept its decisions without any question. Another feature of the celebration was a pageant reproducing the election of the first "law speaker" one thousand years ago. Addresses on Iceland's history and speeches by delegates were broadcast by loud-speakers to the thousands present.

NORWAY—The Storting as well as the nation celebrated on June 7 the twenty-fifth anniversary of the dissolution of the union with Sweden. After being a part of Denmark for centuries, Norway became united with Sweden in 1814. The period of ninety years, during which the two countries had a common King, was frequently punctuated by troubles of one kind or another, and finally the bond uniting them was severed in 1905. Norway thus became independent, as the result of a peaceful agreement with Sweden. The emphasis with which the Norwegian press and speakers dwelt, in connection with the celebration, upon the cordial relations between the Norwegians and the Swedes bore testimony to the manner in which the Norwegians interpret their membership in the Scandinavian family of nations.

The United States Government on June 12 brought suit in the United States District Court at New York to restrain forty-nine Norwegian sardine packing concerns, with branches or sales representatives in this country, nine individuals and fourteen American importing houses from conspiring to fix prices and from forming a monopoly in violation of the anti-trust law. The action had an immediate effect in Norway. On July 2 the representatives of about a hundred Norwegian canning establishments, meeting in Oslo, unanimously decided to abolish the price agreement reached last year, because it threatened to hamper an important branch of the Norwegian export trade with the United States.

The Mowinckel government submitted its defense program on May 28. It calls for expenditures amounting to 17,000,000 kroner for the navy and 15,000,000 kroner for the army. As the present outlay amounts to 46,000,000 kroner, the contemplated program involves a saving of 14,000,000 kroner. Compulsory service will be retained; the period of service approximates three months.

SWEDEN — Carl Gustaf Ekman, leader of the Swedish Popular party and for the second time called by King Gustaf to head the government, announced the composition of his Cabinet on June 7. The new Minister of Foreign Affairs is Baron Fredrik Ramel, former Swedish Minister to Oslo and Berlin, until recently Provincial Governor of Stane, a Liberal in politics but not previously a Cabinet officer. Mr. Ekman retains for himself the portfolio of Minister of National Defense.

In view of the fact that the Lindman Ministry fell because of differences of opinion as regards the measures to be adopted for the recovery of business in general and agriculture in particular, Premier Ekman, when outlining the program of the new government, on June 7 pointed out that "the general field to which the government will devote most of its attention has been

clearly indicated." In regard to such specific questions as military and naval defense, social legislation and reforms in taxation, it was declared that they would be taken up and solved at the earliest possible date. A statement that the Premier had made an unsuccessful effort to obtain a broad Parliamentary basis for the Ministry revealed the weak foundation upon which it rests. It controls outright only twenty-eight of the 230 seats in the Second Chamber, which explains why of the twelve members of the Ekman Ministry only five are members of Parliament. The others are officials who had to be drafted because of the dearth of suitable men in the Ekman camp.

Delegates of the trade union movement in twenty-seven countries, representing an organized membership of nearly 14,000,000 workers, assembled in Stockholm on July 7. The congress sat for five days. Among the numerous problems discussed were national and international cartels, social legislation and the forty-four-hour week. The trade union attitude toward the important questions of disarmament and peace were also given a place in the agenda.

Sweden's only match factory in which Ivar Kreuger is not interested—the Jordbro plant at Jönköping—closed because of the recent high import duties raised by Australia, the company's principal export market.

Crime statistics published by the Stockholm Police Department showed that in the capital during 1929 there were only three murders, all of which were speedily solved. Of 10,016 crimes reported, 6,247, or 62.37 per cent, were cleared up. Property lost by crime was valued at 2,328,698 kroner. Of this sum, 2,071,582 kroner, or nearly 89 per cent, was recovered.

The consumption of Swedish punch and the cheaper grades of cognac and wine declined in 1929, but more aqvavit and high-class wines were drunk than in the year before. The consumption of aqvavit increased 3.3 per cent to 24,689,334 liters, while that of other

strong liquors reached 8,790,048 liters. The sale of wines set a new record with 6,368,585 liters, an increase of 12.7 per cent.

DENMARK—On June 15 the nation celebrated the tenth anniversary of Slesvig's return to Denmark. Having been lost to Prussia after a futile war in 1864, the province was recovered as the result of the World War. During the celebration strong police measures were taken to defeat the plans of German and other Communists to interrupt the gatherings. The German frontier was closed until midnight to all but the possessors of special passes, and it was reported that some 400 Communists were thus prevented from entering the country.

It was officially announced on June 18 that Denmark had begun negotiations with Norway to counteract the illicit drink traffic. Because Norway has enforced a strict control of the sale of liquor since the abolition in 1927 of the prohibition experiment, Norway has offered a good market for the smugglers' wares. A substantial part of the liquor has come from Denmark; hence the concerted attempt by the two countries to stamp out the trade.

A significant political change was disclosed on June 12 when a large number of leading Danish Communists announced in a statement published in the Socialist newspaper, *Socialdemokraten*,

their withdrawal from the Communist party and their adherence to the Social-Democrat forces because of the objectionable leadership of the Communist group. This action practically disrupted the Communist party as it now stands.

LITHUANIA—Although ex-Premier and Dictator A. Woldemaras, who resigned in September last year after having controlled the government for nearly three years, apparently has lost almost all his former political standing, the system of repression established during his régime seems to be functioning as before, according to reports in European labor and Liberal newspapers. It is stated that the prisons and concentration camps are still filled with Socialists, Communists, trade union leaders and other opponents of the present government, headed by Premier Jonas Tubelis. It is also alleged that the Premier's promise to re-establish genuine constitutional government has not been fulfilled. However, it was reported from Kaunas on June 7 that the government has decided to take definite steps leading to the establishment of complete lawful order in the country. Several of Woldemaras's supporters have already been exiled, and the ex-Dictator also will be rendered harmless by expulsion from his party. Thus the Woldemaras movement, the government maintains, will be deprived of all support.

THE SOVIET UNION

By EDGAR S. FURNISS

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THE BIENNIAL conventions of the Communist party have a double significance to students of Russian affairs: they bestow dictatorship within the party itself upon the officers and committees which they designate as the repository of power in the intervals between the meetings of

the convention; and they control the program of the Russian Government by blocking out broad lines of policy which guide the Soviet officials over the next two years. The major crises in party politics and the turning points of Russian social and economic development have been registered in the resolution

of the conventions in recent years. It was the fourteenth convention which, four years ago, declared for the policy of rapid industrialization and precipitated the contest for the leadership between the Stalin and Trotsky factions which issued in the domination of the present dictatorship. The fifteenth convention launched the program of agrarian collectivization against the protests of the more conservative Right Wing, whose leaders, Bukharin, Tolski and Rykov, fell before the drive of the Stalin faction. The sixteenth convention, which assembled at Moscow on June 26, was of special significance in the setting of Russian affairs because it gave the Communist rank and file opportunity to pass judgment upon the five-year program midway in its progress, and in doing so to decide the political fate of Stalin and his lieutenants.

The extremists of the Left Wing are still smarting under the castigation administered to them by Stalin in March; and this same castigation implied that those of the Right Wing, whose demand for moderation two years ago caused them to be branded as heretics, were right after all. Stalin's exercise of personal authority was expected to unite these discordant elements on the basis of a common grievance against a high-handed leadership. But these expectations proved to be wholly without foundation. The distinguishing feature of the convention this year was the complete absence of spokesmen for either the Right or Left Wing oppositions. The principal men among Stalin's recent critics, Rykov, Tolski and Uglanov, came forward only to confess the error of their ways and beg forgiveness. Stalin's appearance before the convention evoked an ovation which equaled the greatest triumph scored by Lenin at the height of his power. His seven-hour speech explaining and defending the Soviet policy was received with unanimous and enthusiastic approval.

This outcome had been foreshadowed in the preliminary meetings of the provincial party conferences earlier in the month. These conferences represent a different level of party opinion than

the convention, being composed of the party officials, while the convention represents the rank and file who, in Communist theory, are the final judges of personnel and policy. But for that very reason they are an even better indication of practical political forces in Russia since they provide the focal points of any organized opposition and the media through which rival aspirants to the seat of power within the party can make their influence felt. It is, therefore, doubly significant that neither in the conferences of the party officialdom nor in the sovereign organ of the party's membership has any opposition appeared. It means that the rulers of Soviet Russia are beginning the most critical years of their administration with the support of a party more completely united than at any time during the past five years. It also reveals the prevailing mood of the politically minded fragment of Russia's vast population. The steady progress of the five-year program in industry and, especially, the recent dramatic success of the agrarian collectives have stirred the emotions of the Russian Communists to a pitch of elation and self-confidence which smothers all criticism. The world need expect no relaxation of the dictatorship which governs the Soviet Union nor any deflection from the line of policy which is transforming her social institutions.

The details of this policy, as announced by Stalin in his speech before the convention, are so little different from the program with which the world has grown familiar during the past two years as to require no elaboration here. They are summed up in the two slogans which epitomize the program of Stalin's middle-of-the-road group: "Abolition of the Kulaks as a class" and "Full speed ahead with the industrialization program." In the course of his speech, however, Stalin made one pronouncement which has been hailed by certain commentators as an important change in Russia's foreign policy. This was to the effect that the Soviet Union was prepared to recognize a portion of Russia's pre-revolution indebt-

edness on condition that the foreign claimants provide credits to enable the union to finance payment of the debt. Stalin's statement was somewhat obscure and enigmatical. It apparently referred not to the debts owed to foreign governments but to claims of foreign business enterprises on account of property losses suffered during the revolution and under the subsequent expropriation policy of the Bolsheviks. The procedure suggested by Stalin's statement for the liquidation of these claims is circuitous. It requires the foreign creditor to engage in business with the Soviet Union and to supply credits for the financing of the trade contract. The interest and amortization charges of such credits will then be increased by a factor which will reimburse the foreign business interest for previous property losses over and above the payments made on the current contract.

This is a very shrewd proposal. It would enable Russia to employ the claims of foreign creditors as a bribe to induce them to supply her with materials of which she is in desperate need and to provide the credits without which she is unable to import these essential materials. At the same time it would leave the Soviet Government free from moral obligation to repair the damage caused by her expropriation policy, since the acknowledgment of any specific claim would be determined by Russia's immediate interest in renewed trade relations with the foreign creditor rather than by the general principle of indemnification. There is nothing really novel about this arrangement save that its formal description by Stalin is the nearest approach yet made by the Soviet Government to an acknowledgement of the justice of the foreign claims. The General Electric Company is at the present time receiving partial compensation for property losses suffered in the revolution through the medium of a trade contract with the Soviet Government for the sale of some \$25,000,000 of hydroelectric equipment. Other large concerns, both in this country and in Europe, have entered into similar agreements with the Soviet

Union. Analysis of Stalin's proposal therefore discloses no change in Russia's foreign policy but indicates rather the seriousness of her need for foreign economic assistance. Certainly it does not, as some writers have suggested, imply an overture on the part of the Soviet Government toward discharging the conditions of diplomatic recognition by the United States.

The discussions at the party conferences and on the floor of the convention, and the attendant publicity campaign in the official journals give the foreign reader a clear impression of the severity of the economic pressure suffered by the average citizen of the Soviet Union. That there exists a serious shortage of almost all commodities of ordinary family use has been frankly acknowledged by the Soviet officials, who have warned the people to prepare for even greater hardships as a consequence of the increasing tempo of the five-year program. The plight of the textile industry will serve to illustrate this general condition. The production figures for May showed that the output of cloth had fallen 150,000,000 yards below the April record. This was explained as the effect of the government's inability to import the necessary raw cotton, since it was obliged to give priority to imports of machine equipment required by the industrialization program. Despite the acute shortage of cloth and clothing in the domestic market, Russia has been exporting the product of her own textile factories. In fact, any domestic product marketable abroad, however urgent the need for it at home, must be thrown into the balance against the imports of capital equipment. Whenever the consumption needs of the people or the needs of a domestic industry purveying to popular consumption collide with the specifications of the five-year program, the people must lower their plane of living, tighten their belts and prepare to endure sacrifice. This has now been explained through the pages of the official journals with an emphasis which does not permit of misinterpretation.

However, there are some reasons for believing that conditions will improve toward the end of the present year. The Soviet officials expect the forthcoming crop of Russian-grown cotton to supply the major part of the country's needs, thus reducing the pressure on the trade balance. Furthermore, the present forecasts of the grain crop indicate an exportable surplus, estimated at a minimum of 3,000,000 tons, which can be substituted in the export statement for factory products needed at home. These predictions have an especial interest to the people of this country because of their bearing upon our own agrarian problem. If they are fulfilled and Russia at once ceases to be an importer of cotton and becomes an exporter of grain, the world markets for these staples will tend even more than at present to the disadvantage of our farmers.

Important changes in the upper ranks of the Soviet officials have recently brought about a new combination of personnel within the inner circle of authority in Russia. The most important of these changes is the resignation of Y. E. Rudzutak as Commissar of Transportation and the appointment to that post of M. L. Rukhimovich, formerly Vice Commissar of Industry. The railroad system of the Soviet Union has been under fire by the Communist press as the weakest element in Russia's industrial program, and Rudzutak's removal was at first interpreted by foreign observers as a condemnation of his management of the transportation system. But in reality the change represents a promotion in the inner hierarchy of the Communist party. Rudzutak has been serving as vice president of the Union Council of Commissars, vice president of the Council of Labor and Defense and a member of the powerful Politburo while carrying on his duties as chief of transportation. His position on the Union Council of Commissars has been the more arduous because the president, M. Rykov, has never fully recovered his position in party confidence since his defection with Tolski and Bukharin, leaders of

the Right Opposition, a year ago. It is the general belief that Rudzutak has become Stalin's second in command within the party, the most trusted and influential of the great leader's lieutenants. His release from the task of administering the railroad system is a recognition of his importance as the centre of authority in the Communist party.

Rukhimovich's place as Vice Commissar of Industry has been taken by I. S. Unshlikht, formerly Vice Commissar of War, who at an earlier stage in his career was one of the organizers and a dominant figure in the old Cheka. Unshlikht is also a staunch disciple of Stalin. Mm. Gamarik and Yakir, both supporters of Stalin's cause against the extremists last March, have been made Vice Commissars of War. Another change is the replacement of M. Lunarcharski as Commissar of Education by A. Bubnof, who was formerly chief of the political section of the Red Army, also a personal follower of Stalin. As a result of these changes the unity of the central authority in Russia is increased and Stalin's grip upon the important governmental and party positions is strengthened.

A review of the entire personnel in the higher posts of the Soviet system discloses to what extent the old heroes of the revolution have disappeared from the scene. Rykov remains as president of the Union Council and a very few of the old names are to be found attached to posts of little political importance. But Bukharin has lost his position on the Politburo, and Trotsky carried many of the former leaders with him into retirement. On the whole, it is a group of younger men who trace their conversion to communism back to the revolution itself and not to the pre-war days of secrecy and conspiracy which forms Stalin's general staff. They are a more flexible, opportunistic group than was the fire-tempered band of doctrinaires who carried through the revolution, and more suited to the requirements of practical politics and realistic diplomacy.

In the sphere of international rela-

tions the principal development of the past month has been the increased cordiality between the Soviet Union and Germany as disclosed by the Russo-German conference which began its sessions on June 18. During the past two years Germany has shown a growing hostility toward her powerful eastern neighbor. The bases of this attitude have been numerous, including popular resentment of the treatment of German nationals in the Shakhta trial two years ago, official suspicion that Bolshevik propaganda has inspired the numerous outbreaks of Communist violence which have agitated Germany at frequent intervals, and also a widespread belief, known to be shared by official circles in Poland, that the Soviet Government was doomed to failure and consequent collapse through the breakdown of her five-year program. Germany has approached the conference in a remarkably conciliatory spirit, proclaiming in advance of the meeting her intention to re-establish the cordial relations which characterized the Treaty of Rapallo formed in 1922. Her agreement to withdraw the vexed question of Bolshevik propaganda is an earnest manifestation of her intention that the conference shall terminate in closer ties with the Soviet Union. The Russian press has shown much enthusiasm for the conference, interpreting Germany's attitude as a triumph of Bolshevik diplomacy. Evidently expert opinion in Germany has accepted as a probability the success of the five-year

program and the future security of the present Russian Government.

Save in this particular, it cannot be said that recent events have improved Russia's standing in the eyes of the principal European powers. The formal meetings of the Communist party always precipitate a flood of bellicose oratory on the theme of international revolution, chiefly for home consumption. But this year the imperial problems of the great States are unusually trying. England is at grips with a revolt in India whose more violent manifestations on the frontier and in the industrial centres she suspects are inspired from Moscow. France is having trouble with a radical nationalistic movement in Indo-China and Malaysia. In Southern China Communist bands have gained control over 162 districts with a population of upward of 30,000,000, and the rapid spread of their power is a matter of grave concern to Japan, especially, and to all nations hoping for stable economic relations in the Far East. The endorsement of these rebellious movements in the speeches of high Russian officials and in the government press, the boast that they are in essence part and parcel of the Communist international program, and the declaration of a moral alliance between their leaders and the rulers of Russia against common enemies in the form of the ugly imperialism of Britain, France and Japan have strengthened the suspicion that the Soviet Union has been an active agent in the civil disorders of States with whom she maintains ostensibly friendly relations.

THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

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ALTHOUGH BACKED BY an overwhelming majority in the popular vote and in Parliament, and thus apparently secure in office for some time to come, Premier Nahas Pasha and the Egyptian Cabinet, after functioning six months, have been

manoeuvred out of power. Their failure to reach agreement with the British Government over the proposed treaty did not appear to be counted against them by their constituents. Whereas two years ago Lord Lloyd, British High Commissioner, seemed to assist in the

overthrow of Nahas Pasha's previous Cabinet, on this occasion Sir Percy Loraine appears to have been neutral. King Fuad turned the trick himself, assisted only by the numerically weak Unionist and Liberal Constitutional parties. As late as the end of June the King had retained control without, as in the former cases, suspending the Constitution, and the ousted leaders had found no effective recourse.

The Cabinet on May 31 sent to the King a draft bill which declared guilty of treason Ministers who might infringe the Constitution either by suspending Parliament or by otherwise violating its provisions. The maximum penalty for suspending Parliament was to be life imprisonment and fines up to \$25,000. King Fuad declined to sign the bill and made no secret of his disapproval. The Ministry in time reached the conclusion that its dignity could be maintained only by resignation, and on June 17 Nahas Pasha proceeded to the palace and offered to lay down his office. That evening he asked and obtained from the Chamber of Deputies a vote of confidence. He said that the Cabinet had pledged itself to safeguard the Constitution, and was now prevented from taking the necessary steps. In the discussion which followed, one Deputy was called to order for declaring that "the people are ready to crush the biggest head in the country."

The King accepted the resignation and asked Ismail Sidky Pasha to form a Ministry, which was completed and approved on June 20. The Premier retained also the Portfolios of Finance and the Interior. The Cabinet, composed entirely of Unionists and Liberal Constitutionalists, included Hafez Afifi Pasha as Minister of Foreign Affairs. On June 21 the King, as permitted by the Constitution, adjourned Parliament for one month. At the end of that time, by another constitutional provision, he can close it until the middle of November. Violence marked the tone of the Egyptian press, which, since it could not attack the King, threatened a boycott of British goods

and reprisals against Christians. A section of foreign opinion held that the Wafdists allowed themselves to be pushed out because of the increasingly difficult economic situation.

On the evening of June 22 the Houses of Parliament met, after using force to open the gates, which had been locked by order of the Premier. They listened to the decree forming the new Cabinet, took a solemn oath to defend the Constitution with their treasure, their blood and their lives, heard the decree adjourning Parliament, and disbanded quietly. On June 26 a Nationalist party congress was held, attended by about 500 leaders. The oath to defend the Constitution was renewed, and committees were appointed to initiate a movement of non-cooperation with the government after the plan of Gandhi in India, in case the government should fail after thirty days to appear before Parliament and ask for a vote of confidence. Meetings at Damanhour and Zagazig led to some bloodshed.

The government's cotton policy, both before and after the change of Cabinet, endeavored to cope with a critical situation. On June 11 the Cabinet placed a new credit of \$40,000,000 at the disposal of the Minister of Finance, to be used for the purchase of cotton and for loans to producers of cotton. Since the government already had purchased cotton to a similar amount, the Egyptian surplus or financial reserve is endangered by what may be a vain effort to hold up the price of this commodity. Soviet agents have been endeavoring to purchase heavily from the government's stock, but have not succeeded because of attempts to couple a new treaty with the transaction and also to obtain most of the cotton on credit.

William M. Jardine of Kansas, Secretary of Agriculture under President Coolidge, has been appointed Minister to Egypt.

TURKEY—About June 10 some Kurdish raiders crossed from Persia into Turkish territory near Mount Ararat, and with the help perhaps of

some Kurds on the Turkish side, attacked Turkish villagers. Other raids followed about ten and twenty days later. The number of invaders was probably nearer the 110 reported in some dispatches than the many thousands mentioned in others. Some invaders were reported to have been surrounded by Turkish land and air forces on the slopes of Mount Ararat. While the Turkish editors wrote violently against the Persian Government, the Turkish Foreign Office exchanged notes with the Persian authorities, apparently asking cooperation in restoring order and receiving promises followed by action. The Turks ordered the Persian frontier closed except at important points, and sent reinforcements to the frontier guards. It was suggested that the raids were connected with the trial at Ankara of the Kurd Selah.ed-Din and others, as members of a Kurdish secret society, working toward independence. While a general Kurdish revolt or a Turco-Persian war was feared, the bandits were finally practically exterminated.

A treaty between Turkey and Greece, after six years of complicated negotiations, was signed on June 10. Its thirty-three articles provide that Greece deliver \$2,125,000 to League of Nations' Mixed Commission, to be distributed to Turks who suffered losses in Western Thrace and to Greeks who lost property in Anatolia and Istanbul. Each government is to compensate the remainder of its nationals who lost property in the "exchange of population," while the Mixed Commission is to settle questions of citizenship. Greeks of Istanbul, who left Turkey without proper passports, lose Turkish citizenship, but the condition of some 60,000 Greeks who remain there is improved. Parliament ratified the treaty before adjournment.

Parliament passed a bill authorizing the creation of a State bank, which will issue currency, fix the rate of discount, and hold government funds. The Treasury is to transfer to it \$2,200,000 in gold besides "negotiable securities" valued at ten times as much.

An agreement was signed June 8 with a Swedish match group, conveying a monopoly for twenty-five years of matches and cigar lighters, in consideration of an annual royalty of about \$860,000. This is to be applied largely to the service of a loan of \$10,000,000 at 6½ per cent, to be repaid during the life of the Monopoly. The money is to come mostly from New York. Part of it is to be used to strengthen the new bank. A factory is to be built within two years for producing matches in Turkey.

A cloudburst at Ankara on June 22 is reported to have destroyed a large part of the improvements of the past ten years. The government in that time has spent sums estimated at more than \$60,000,000 on buildings, roads, electrification and the like.

At midnight, May 31, the payment of toll after being collected for eighty-seven years was discontinued on the Galata Bridge.

SYRIA—Documents of first-rate importance for the immediate future of Syria were signed at Beirut on May 14 and published in France and Syria eight or nine days later. A covering letter from High Commissioner Ponsot to Foreign Minister Briand conveyed "the organic statute of the States under French mandate," as provided for in the first article of the mandatory act of July 24, 1922. The "statute" is in five distinct parts: The Constitution of the Syrian State, the organic regulation of the Sanjak of Alexandretta, the organic statute of the government of Latakia, the organic statute of the government of Jebel Druze and the organic regulation of the conference of common interests. An additional decree dissolved the constituent Assembly, which met on June 9, 1928, and was suspended on Aug. 11, 1928.

The Lebanon has been, since 1926, under a Constitution granted by the French, and the new laws—which, by the way, are proclaimed four years later than originally indicated—continue this separation of the Syrian ter-

ritory under French mandate into five portions. The documents further modify the constituent Assembly's constitution by the amendment of various articles as originally proposed by the High Commissioner. In nearly all other respects the Constitution of the Syrian State is the same as the Assembly's proposal. Article I declares that Syria (not, however, the Assembly's large Syria) "is an independent and sovereign State." But a new article (116) safeguards thoroughly for France her rights under the mandate and all the acts of her representatives as regards Syria, and all future legislation for "the duration of the international obligations of France in regard to Syria." Article 3 of the decree establishing the Constitution states that the reservations in Article 116 will hold until the conclusion of a treaty made with the consent of the League of Nations, defining anew the conditions of the mandate.

ARABIA—King Ibn Saud, with a train of some 1,360 persons in 300 automobiles, journeyed from Riyadh to Mecca between April 24 and 30, in time for the annual pilgrimage. Five brothers of the King, his seventeen sons and several grandsons made the occasion a notable family gathering. Eighty-one thousand pilgrims had arrived from overseas, showing a decline in numbers from 97,000 in 1928 and 130,000 in 1927. The total of almost 150,000 was, however, greater by 40,000 than in 1929.

A diplomatic corps has been in process of formation in Jeddah, including representatives of Great Britain, France, Russia, Turkey and Persia.

IRAQ—A new treaty between Iraq and Great Britain was signed at Baghdad about July 1, which, if ratified by both governments and carried out, will materially increase the self-determination of the former country. An alliance for twenty-five years leaves Iraq full control of her internal affairs, with a measure of supervision

by Great Britain over her foreign affairs. Iraq is to be recommended for admission to the League of Nations in 1932, and when admitted is to be considered independent. Iraq will lease to Great Britain three air bases west of the Euphrates and the Shat-el-Arab, to be protected by Iraq troops at Great Britain's expense. Great Britain will withdraw her air forces from Iraq.

PERSIA—Early in May it was reported that the Persian Government had canceled its contract with the American Ulen Company for constructing the southern end of the Trans-Persian Railway, on the ground that the company was not carrying out its obligations. A later report stated that the company stopped work because the Persian Government was \$3,000,000 behind in its payments. Since the Persian Government has collected many millions of dollars from several years of taxation, the inference was that the Shah and the company were in some disagreement, which led the former to exert financial pressure.

AFGHANISTAN—King Nadir Shah is said to have given a contract to a German firm for the building of some 900 miles of railway, beginning with a line from Kabul through Jalalabad to Peshawar, and following with connections from Kabul to Kandahar, Herat and Kushk. Such a comprehensive plan must prove enormously costly in so mountainous a country. The linking up with the British India, and the Russian systems suggests international complications.

PALESTINE—The Permanent Commission on Mandates of the League of Nations opened its inquiry into the state of affairs in Palestine on June 3. Great Britain was represented by T. Drummond Shiels, Under-Secretary of the Colonial Office; T. I. K. Lloyd, also of the Colonial Office, who had served as secretary of the British Commission of Inquiry, and H. C. Luke, Acting High Commissioner in

Palestine during the riots of August, 1929. Mr. Shiels in his opening statement said: "It is our earnest hope and our fixed determination that means will be found to permit the two ancient civilizations, Jewish and Arab, to develop side by side under conditions which will become progressively more and more harmonious."

On the following day sessions were begun behind closed doors, and so continued until June 21, when the Commission adopted unanimously a report drafted by its editorial committee. It was expected that the minutes of the sessions and the observations contained in the report would be submitted to the British Government and afterward published, probably late in July.

On July 1 the British Government presented to the League of Nations its annual report for 1929 as regards Palestine. The last months of the year were characterized by political unrest, the strengthening of the forces of public security and a restriction of economic activity. The constitutional régime continued unchanged. Arab and Jewish nationalism both received new impulses during the year. Economic conditions improved, so that unemployment practically ceased, and 3,500 Jewish immigrants were received. The estimated Jewish population was 165,000, as compared with 56,000 in 1918.

The international commission on the Wailing Wall, consisting of the Swede, J. E. Lofgren; the Swiss, M. Barde, and the Dutchman, G. van Kempen, reached Jerusalem on June 19. On the following day they visited the region of the Wailing Wall, and on June 25 began public sessions. The Jewish case was presented in a memorandum of 100 pages prepared by Dr. Cyrus Adler. It contained a proposal of the exchange of leasehold rights to territories near the wall, against similar rights for poor Moroccans, who were to be provided with new buildings, elsewhere in Jerusalem. The chief argument of the document was summarized as proving:

1. "That through the ages and under all conditions the Jews regarded the site of the destroyed Temple as a holy place and that whenever opportunity offered they gathered in its neighborhood for prayers and lamentation.

2. "That these were actual gatherings for definite and formal services and not for sporadic prayers of individuals.

3. "That as early as the third century, in literature, and as early as the tenth century, in definite reports of travelers, it appeared that of whatever remained of the Temple, the western wall, regarded in tradition and accepted by archaeologists as of Solomonic origin, was the particular holy place before which the Jews congregated. That aside from any other services which might have been in existence, since 1708 a printed form of prayers to be used before the western wall, a book of more than forty pages published at different times and in various countries has indicated that the wall was a place of pilgrimage for Jews outside the Holy Land as well as for the Jewish inhabitants of Palestine, who resorted to the wall with a regular order of prayers.

4. "That, as the Jews in the Holy Land increased, the practice began of having regular daily services at the wall, with various religious appurtenances, and since the services were long, occupying from several hours to the entire day, depending upon the occasion, stones or chairs or benches were brought there from time to time for the convenience of the aged.

5. "That, as among all Orthodox Jews there was a separation of men and women at religious services, the women used to stand huddled in one corner of the alleyway and the men distributed themselves among the rest. When the services became long, a small screen or flat form of separation was set up to satisfy ritual requirements.

6. "That from the time of the Moslem conquest of Jerusalem and the building of the mosques on the Temple area, with only slight interruptions, no objection was made by the Moslem community to prayer before the wall, although the usage was made the occasion of exactions of money by various authorized and unauthorized persons. No effort was made to keep the alley clean or the pavement in repair, in fact, the Moslem attitude was one of tolerant neglect and indifference."

The inquiry continued with the examination of witnesses, in order to establish the usages as regards the Wailing Wall which have prevailed in

recent years. Both Arabs and Jews were represented by counsel.

The death sentence upon three Arabs who were left unretrieved by the communiqué of May 31 which spared the lives of twenty-two others, was carried out in the prison at Acre on June 17. All Arab shops and offices in Jerusalem were closed on that day. A general strike called by the Arab Executive was also carried out in the principal towns. Minor clashes with the police occurred at several places,

but there was no serious disturbance anywhere.

Chiefs of Beduin tribes in Palestine reached agreement at Beersheba on July 1 to substitute regular court procedure for the ancient methods hitherto used for the settlement of disputes, which have frequently led to bloodshed and intertribal wars. At about the same time the organization of an Arab bank in Jerusalem, named El Arabi, showed another effort to conform to modern ways.

THE FAR EAST

By HAROLD S. QUIGLEY

PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND FAR EASTERN RELATIONS,
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE MONTH OF JUNE was an unfortunate but not a disastrous one for the recognized government of republican China at Nanking. Attacked on the north in Honan and Shantung, the National Government's forces were driven out of Tsinan, capital of Shantung province, and pushed southward and eastward toward the Yangtse and the sea. In Honan they lost ground also, but sustained a vigorous defense in a bloody battle that waged almost continuously for two weeks. Attacked also on the south, the government lost Changsha, capital of Hunan, located about 280 miles south of Hankow, to a combination of adventurers from Kwangsi and the "Ironsides," led by General Chang Fa-kuei. The latter subsequently pressed northward toward Hankow, capturing Yochow, but failed to reach striking distance of Hankow or other government strongholds on the Yangtse. President Chiang Kai-shek pronounced himself optimistic in spite of the serious aspect of the situation, basing his view upon the allegedly greater capacity of his armies to sustain a prolonged struggle.

Early in June the capture of twelve pursuit planes from the Nanking force in the vicinity of Kaifeng, Honan, was

reported by the northern headquarters. At that time American consular authorities at Nanking and Peking advised their nationals between Nanking and the Shantung border to leave the area as being a danger zone. Four hundred thousand men were reported to be involved in the fighting along the Lunghai railway, which crosses central China from east to west and affords transportation facilities which connect the Peking-Hankow and the Tientsin-Pukow trunk lines.

The strategy of the "rebels," as the armies of Governor Yen Hsi-shan and General Feng Yu-hsiang on the north and of their allies on the south were termed by the Nanking Government, appeared to be to enclose Nanking from north, west and south in the hope of compelling the resignation of the government and setting up a régime more favorable to regional autonomy. It was believed, however, that the various "rebel" factions were not in agreement on policy; the southerners favor the radical Wang Chin-wei for the Presidency on a program tinged strongly with communism, while the northerners in general hold more conservative views and are divided among themselves.

Changsha was occupied by the Kwangsi forces on June 5 and the

change of control was accomplished without looting or bloodshed. The southern army then split into three columns, one to move against Hankow and its neighbors, Wuchang and Hanyang; a second against Shasi, up-river from Hankow, and the third against Kiukiang, downriver from Hankow and the main buttress of Nanking's defenses against a southern attack. It was feared that a Communist army, holding Tayeh, near Hankow, would cooperate with the attackers.

Japanese sources reported that General Feng Yu-hsiang had sent a message to President Chiang Kai-shek urging that he resign. Feng was said to have offered to "go abroad" with Chiang. (Apparently the term "go abroad" used in such a connection has something of the racketeer's interpretation of "taking a ride.") Chiang did not accept the suggestion.

The column of Kwangsi-ites headed for Hankow was checked at Sincheng, Hunan, with heavy losses reported in killed and prisoners. The occupation of Yochow, however, on June 10, brought the southern threat within 160 miles of Hankow. Seventy thousand troops were massed to defend Wu-han, the Wuchang-Hankow-Hanyang area, but the rebel forces did not attempt to test the defenses of Hankow. On June 12 General Feng was reported to have declared his willingness to withdraw from the war on payment of \$3,000,000, and this report was believed because of the precedent set by Feng last December. Chiang, it appeared, was unwilling to be bound by a precedent that had turned out badly, and he declared his determination to smash the rebellion on all fronts.

Governor Liu Huan-yen of Kwangsi was shot from behind by his own orderly while at supper in the Asia Hotel, Canton. The assassin stated that his treachery had been prompted by the offer of \$10,000 and a commission as Colonel made by a General at one time in control at Hankow, Pei Chung-hsi. Another former war lord, Wu Pei-fu, announced his intention of emerging from retirement in Szechuan to act as

a mediator at the head of an army. Sun Ch'uan-fang, a third survivor of Pre-Nanking tuchunism, was expected to align himself with the rebels. With the prospect of a carcass to devour, the birds of prey increased in number.

From Manchuria came a report that Chang Hsueh-liang, the "young Marshal," branding the war as a "disgrace to national prestige and a hindrance to the progress of the Chinese people," had offered to mediate, accompanying his offer with a threat to take sides against the rebels if they refused to consider terms of peace.

Troops from Canton favorable to Nanking were reported on June 17 as having dislodged their old enemies of Kwangsi from Changsha and occupying the city.

Concurrently with the events in Hunan took place the advance of Northern troops into Shantung. Throughout June the fall of Tsinan to the Northern faction was believed imminent, but the actual transfer of control did not occur until June 25. Fighting occurred at other points outside the city, but the city escaped bombardment and the transfer was preceded by negotiations, as a result of which General Han Fuchu, Nationalist commander, retired ultimately without a final show of force. No general exodus of foreigners occurred, as both sides declared their intention of protecting foreign lives and property. The Japanese Government was asked by the 2,300 Japanese in Tsinan to send troops, but firmly refused to consider such a move. A considerable international naval force, including a number of American ships, kept in touch with developments from the harbor of Tsingtao.

With the development of intensive warfare the attacks upon foreigners decreased. Rev. Clifford King, Catholic priest at Sinyangchow, Southern Honan, was captured by bandits and held for a ransom of arms and ammunition. He was rescued on June 20 by a cavalry squadron. Samuel Elkin, seaman, of Brooklyn, was killed on board the United States gunboat Guam on July 4 by firing from the city of Yo-

chow. The act was attributed to Communist troops which were looting the city. Frank P. Lockhart, American consul general at Hankow, reported that American missionaries had been driven with sticks through the streets of Suiping, Honan.

The National Government on June 20 announced that it had appointed Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, Vice Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, in place of the revolting Yen Hsi-shan. Chang refused the office but was reported as again urging a peace conference. A favorable attitude on the part of Japan toward the National Government was believed indicated by the shipment of 8,000 tons of guns and ammunition to Shanghai from Japan.

A development combining *opéra bouffe* with highly serious effects for the National Government was the seizure by the Northern forces on June 16 of the custom house at Tientsin. Governor Yen appointed B. L. Simpson, known widely by his pen name, Putnam Weale, commissioner of customs at Tientsin. Simpson promptly took office, ousting the incumbent, another Englishman named Hayley Bell. The Nanking Government protested and asked that the British legation arrest Simpson, but without result. The staff of the Tientsin office walked out en masse, but they walked back when faced with the prospect of losing their jobs. No alteration in the disposition of funds allocated to the service of foreign loans guaranteed on the customs receipts was contemplated. Yen's action involved the loss of \$600,000 a month to the Nanking Government, this being the surplus over the amount pledged for foreign loan services.

This unprecedented action aroused no protest from any foreign government, a fact which demonstrates the change that has taken place in the attitude of the powers since 1923. In the latter part of that year Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who claimed, somewhat dubiously, to be in control of Kwangtung Province, threatened to take over the Canton customs office unless the diplomatic body ordered the release to him of a share

of the customs receipts. No attempt was actually made, but a demonstration of naval forces was made by six powers, including the United States.

The present case is complicated by the uncertainty prevailing as to the outcome of the struggle now in process. The legations of foreign States are still in Peking awaiting greater certainty of the permanence of the recognized government at Nanking. The actual authority at Tientsin and in North China lies, at the moment and has lain since Chang Tso-lin left Peking in June, 1928, in Yen's hands. To use foreign naval forces to maintain Nanking's control of the Tientsin customs would amount to intervention in a civil issue that appears further from settlement today than it did in 1928.

The Nationalist Government stationed a gunboat off Tientsin to examine incoming vessels and investigate their payment of duties at other ports. Thereupon the Tientsin commissioner announced that cargoes upon which duty had been paid at other ports would be released after payment of a deposit covering the amount of the duty. This would be returnable when the depositor produced proof of payment of duties at Shanghai. For a few days the various consuls issued clearance papers, the British and Japanese demanding acceptable guarantees of payment of duties, the French and Americans according permits for export and import without guarantees. Subsequently these temporary measures were discontinued and the clearances of the new commissioner accepted.

The Shanghai Special District Court ruled on June 28 that no foreign firm might file a suit in a Chinese court unless the firm were registered with the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Labor.

JAPAN—Congressman Albert Johnson recently confirmed his intention not to recommend a change in the 1924 immigration act to affect the entrance of persons incapable of naturalization. He wrote:

It is not likely that the clause to the

effect that those ineligible to citizenship shall not be admitted to the United States for permanent residence will be stricken from the 1924 immigration act by any Congress—or even modified. American citizens of Japanese ancestry in Hawaii will supply quite a reservoir of those who may come legally to the United States.

Mr. Johnson either has talked ambiguously or he has been badly misquoted, as he could hardly regard so limited a change in the law as removing discrimination if, as the Japanese believe, there be discrimination in the present law. Yet he is represented as stating in a special cable to the Osaka *Mainichi*: "I have been gradually convinced by talking with Japanese and with travelers and from reading editorials that the elimination of Japanese discrimination is an important correction, and I believe that the House and the Senate are now ready for it."

A general shake-up occurred in the naval staff board over the issue of the London naval treaty. Although Admiral Takarabe, Minister of the Navy, accepted the view of the chief of the board, Admiral Kanji Kato, that the Ministry was constitutionally obligated to submit programs of naval strength for the approval of the staff before deciding its policy, he retained his post as Minister while, on June 11, Admiral Kato resigned. He was appointed a member of the Military Council, the highest military organ of the government. These moves portended acceptance of the treaty although its road to ratification might be long and rough. Admiral Shoshin Taniguchi was appointed to succeed Admiral Kato and Vice Admiral Kobayashi and Vice Admiral Nagano succeeded Vice Admiral Yamanashi and Vice Admiral Suyet-sugu as Vice Minister of the Navy and assistant chief of the general staff, respectively.

It is doubtful if so drastic a sweep of naval opposition has ever occurred before and certainly none has occurred on a question so intimately concerning the prerogatives of the naval staff board. The reasons may hardly be stated too glibly. Undoubtedly the prin-

cipal factor is the desire of the dominant forces in the Japanese Government to reach an agreement of some sort with the United States. Another factor is the realization that Japan really got what she wanted in the cruiser category. Hard times and an honest determination to retrench expenditures is an important element. Nevertheless, the defeat of the navy die-hards is a striking testimony to the reality of Japan's political progress, of her movement away from clan or military control toward a more democratic system.

The feeling of the Japanese people toward the accomplishments of Japan's delegation was attested when a crowd of 10,000 persons wildly cheered Mr. Wakatsuki, chief delegate, upon his return to Tokyo on June 18.

Gyoku Hanzawa, veteran editor of the *Diplomatic Review* (*Gaiko Jiho*) maintained his statement that at London a gentlemen's agreement was reached with the American delegates by which the United States would not build the last three of the eighteen 10,000-ton cruisers authorized by the treaty. Admiral Takarabe declared that he knew nothing of such an agreement and Vice Foreign Minister Yoshida denied that any commitment had been made. A protest meeting of the All-Japan Students' Association on June 26, in which professors and students attacked the London treaty, was broken up by police.

A National Federation of Labor Unions (*Zenkoku Rodo Kumiai Domei*) with a membership of over 40,000 was inaugurated in Osaka out of some twenty-seven older organizations of varying importance. An effort to bring all other labor organizations into the new federation was agreed upon. A few days previously the first proletarian woman's association in Osaka was organized, to be known as the Osaka branch of the Women's Social Democratic Union.

W. Cameron Forbes was appointed by President Hoover Ambassador to Japan on June 12.

BOOK REVIEWS

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four Russians, Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin and Krassin; three Belgians, the King, the Queen and Vandervelde; Stambulisky, the Bulgar; Pilsudski, the Pole; Venizelos, the Greek; Pachich, the Serb, and Mustapha Kemal, the Turk. It is a notable group. In making his selections it is obvious that Count Sforza did not attempt to choose those who had exerted the largest influence in bringing about the changes which have come in Europe during the last generation. On such a basis Clemenceau, Hindenburg, Stresemann, Masaryk and others would have been included, while some who do appear would have been omitted. But all upon the list, except the two Chinese, did contribute in considerable but widely varying degrees to bring about the far-reaching changes which have occurred. With all upon his list, except the Russians and perhaps two or three others, Count Sforza has enjoyed the great advantage of personal contact. His estimates reveal the kind of perception which comes only from first-hand knowledge.

The interest and value of the book are not confided to its portrayals of the persons discussed in it. Incidentally there are numerous illuminating interpretations and sometimes contributions of hitherto unknown facts in regard to highly important transactions. The true character of the Dual Monarchy as it existed before the World War and the part it played in bringing on the conflict are clearly delineated. There is a vigorous defense of the Successor States against the charge that they are Balkanizing Europe. In the sketch upon "Pachich, the Essence of Serbia," there is an important contribution to the much mooted question whether the Serb Cabinet in 1914 had prior knowledge of the plot for the assassination of the Austrian Crown Prince. On the basis of long talks at Corfu with Pachich and Ljuba Jovanovich, whose alleged revelation in 1924 constitutes the principal basis for the assertion that the Serb Cabinet had advance knowledge of the conspiracy, Count Sforza declares himself "absolutely convinced" that in 1914 Jovanovich was in total ignorance of anything whatsoever that concerned the crime. "To my mind," Count Sforza declares, "his talk of 1924

is to be accounted for by a travesty, partially sincere perhaps, of his recollections of 1914, and by an old man's vanity." Such testimony, while not decisive as regards the matter at issue, is highly significant. It at least raises a serious question as to the soundness of the conclusions which have been drawn by those who have accepted the article by Jovanovich as good evidence.

Taken as a whole the book may be safely pronounced sound and reliable. But a word of caution is in order. It is in large measure a book of personal reminiscences and in books of that character personal bias always plays a part. Count Sforza writes with large knowledge, rare candor, an unusual degree of fair-mindedness, and in a singularly persuasive manner. For these reasons his readers are in some danger of forgetting that he has a personal bias and that at times it affects his views. To the reviewer his treatment of matters connected with the Near East and the men involved, especially Venizelos and Lord Curzon, seems a case in point. Readers who look for them will probably find others.

The New Generation

By JOHN HERMAN RANDALL Jr.

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THIS symposium* on "the intimate problems of modern parents and children" is announced as "a handbook for parents and a Magna Charta for children. It is certainly a charter of freedom for the young; but for their elders it is far more a bill of indictment than a guide to conduct. The restrictions, regulations and suppressions which, we are told, distorted the lives of present-day parents in their youth are no longer to be escaped on reaching maturity. Childhood must be free, but for parents there comes only added bondage: a thousand and one don'ts, with every channel of creative expression blocked, and every

**The New Generation*. Edited by V. F. Calverton and Samuel D. Schmalhausen. Pp. 717. New York: The Macaulay Company, 1930. \$5.

natural impulse inhibited. Parenthood nowadays, we read, is a far more exciting and baffling affair than ever before in history. And any mother who can take to heart the collected counsel here offered and not raise in her own psyche as fine a crop of fears and complexes as she has eradicated from her children, must be well-adjusted indeed. For those to whom it is all gospel truth, the wisest course would be rigid birth control, and preferably the monastery. No wonder those who here seriously face the dilemma of modern parenthood cast an imploring glance at the willing maternal State, or at Mr. Watson's Platonic nursery-school. Parenthood would be so much simpler if practiced only by professional experts who are not parents!

If the psychologists get around to the new older generation by the time today's children are parents, and grant them also a Magna Charta, their lot will be assured. Free as children, they will gain a new freedom as parents. But we, alas, are a lost generation. Oppressed in the nursery, we are now doubly oppressed by the nursery-school. For us the only hope is that speculative detachment which the study of anthropology and cultural history, united with shrewd common sense, can sometimes impart.

It is not, therefore, surprising that the wisest essays in this uneven collection are by those who have blended anthropological learning with philosophic insight. As Professor Malinowski says, "to the anthropologist there is nothing new under the sun. He teaches us to look with weary indulgence at the most disconcerting extravagances of our time, he adopts a wise foresight and philosophic caution toward the most intoxicating promises of reform. In this lies his value to the all-too-sanguine sociological radical. He remains unmoved even when faced with the most shocking, dangerous and ominous signs of youthful moral decay, with revolts of children against parents, with such symptoms as 'petting parties' and increasing divorce. He teaches us that such things have been before and that they have passed without having killed or poisoned the soul of mankind. In this lies the comfort of anthropology to the wise conservative."

The editors, having sent forth one symposium on the war of the sexes, have dedicated this volume to the conflict between parents and children. About half

the contributors, swept by the prevailing winds of psychological opinion, view this conflict as deeply rooted in human nature, and to be dealt with in terms of clinical therapy. "The clinic and the class room are becoming indistinguishable!" exclaim the editors. The other writers have some notion that such conflict, like that between the sexes, is a social phenomenon apparent in times of unusually rapid cultural change like the present. Most groups, like Margaret Mead's Samoans, would be vastly bewildered by the pother about the inevitable and eternal pathology of family life. Where a fairly fixed pattern of living prevails, children become parents with appropriate ritual but without emotional stress. It is only when children have absorbed a wholly new set of mores, a whole new world of knowledge—or psychological theory—that a major conflict emerges and symposia must be written.

Yet Bertrand Russell is right in here pointing out that what has in the past been so often taken for granted, the growth of youth into the mold of maturity, must for us become a very self-conscious affair. There is for us no mold of maturity, and we possess a power that cannot be guided by chance. In dealing with children, it is the power of revolutionary beliefs, built round a modicum of knowledge; a power that allowed free run, Russell claims, can now manipulate child nature as freely as Californians the desert. Hitherto men had not the resources to put into effect their foolish ideas. Now that they have the power, they must find wisdom to guide their ends. "All our institutions, even those most intimately connected with what used to be called instinct, are bound in the near future to become far more deliberate and conscious than they have been or are now, and particularly the getting and rearing of children."

Who has the wisdom? The anthropologists possess knowledge, but they put the choice of ends up to us. The workers with children, like Agnes de Lima, Elizabeth Goldsmith, Mrs. Gruenberg and Lorine Pruette here, have some shrewd insight. The psychologists come off pretty badly. Each taken by himself sounds fairly plausible; but when the catholicity of the editor has collected behaviorists, Freudians, "individual psychologists," and exponents of various other brands of speculative psychiatry, all intensely earnest, and

each dogmatically preaching the one true faith, the reader can take none of their pretensions very seriously, however interested he may be in their slender experimental findings. Unfortunately, though much is written little is known as yet about psychology, and so few psychologists know much else!

Langdon-Davies makes a useful initial distinction between education as savage, as anti-savage, and as civilized: between, that is, orthodox methods, the revolt against them as mere revolt, and intelligent reconstruction. No savages write for this volume, though it could not have been written without them, for the majority of the contributors are anti-savages. Such men, says Langdon-Davies, are "phrasemongers first and last; at best they treat children as proofs of a theory, at worst they treat them as living dolls through whom they can excrete their passions." Among the civilized may be mentioned the essays of A. W. Calhoun, C. E. Ayres, Havelock Ellis and H. E. Barnes, as well as the careful and informative scientific studies of Malinowski, Mead, T. S. Harding, Terman, Pintner, M. C. Jones and F. Cane. Easily the most anti-savage of all is the irrepressible John B. Watson.

Wisely the editors postponed till the end the arresting treatment of the proletarian child of Michael Gold. The bitter facts there recorded seem to give a proper perspective to the excessive concern of the psychiatrists over the pampered and overstimulated families of the well-to-do. They call us back to realities, to the fact that the New Generation lives after all in the United States, not in Greenwich Village, and does not all go to the Walden School. And they leave us with the problem which remains after the perusal of these thirty-two essays: how is the demand for freedom and self-expression, so widespread in our theories of education and sex, so deeply felt in our personal lives, to be adjusted to the increasing socialization and collectivism of our economic society?

Brief Book Reviews

THE AMERICAN YEAR BOOK: A Record of Events and Progress for the Year 1929. Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart and William M. Schuyler. New York: The American Year Book Corporation, 1930. Pp. xx, 884. \$7.50.

In an age of rapidly shifting scenes some guide or hand book is essential to follow them with any degree of understanding or appreciation. Such a handbook is *The*

American Year Book, published annually under the general editorship of Albert Bushnell Hart. Its form and presentation resemble the indispensable *Statesman's Year Book*, although, as the title of the former indicates, it is concerned only with American matters. Government, economics, social conditions, science and the humanities are considered in a series of reviews by specialists in their particular fields. These general fields are subdivided into various sections; that on American government, for example, falling into the categories of national, State, municipal and territorial. Under these heads is to be found a great mass of information, some of it very casual and some of it highly significant. That Secretary Hyde is a member of the Masonic Order may be interesting, but not as important as his former Governorship of Missouri. Where statistics are of value they are employed, but generally only to illuminate the brief, readable essays. Thus a paragraph is given to discussing the early background of Senators and Representatives rather than a table recording their birthplaces. Yet if one desires to know the names of the gentlemen of Congress for 1929 a compact compilation from the familiar Congressional Directory answers the need. The division devoted to the humanities is unexpected in a handbook of this nature and is a worth-while addition. Literature, the arts and education during the past year are reviewed in brief studies which together total only 100 pages. Yet the section on social conditions receives no more and the humanities have probably as much emphasis as can be expected. The essays will suggest leads for further research as well as giving enough information to satisfy the seeker for specific facts. The volume is an excellent aid to the student and to the man of practical affairs. It deserves to be on every desk or shelf that pretends to ready reference.

THE TREATY VETO OF THE AMERICAN SENATE. By D. F. Fleming. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1930. Pp. ix, 325. \$2.

In a year when the fate of another international treaty is in the hands of the American Senate Dr. Fleming's monograph is most timely. He traces the origin of the Senate's power over treaties and shows how its right to propose treaty amendments is exercised. The part the Senate has played in our international relations from the beginning of the Federal Government to the present is discussed in considerable detail. Dr. Fleming's conclusions are that the power of the Senate to obstruct treaties retards unduly the peaceable adjustment of international relations and that this power should be reduced. He suggests that the power of approval might well be taken from the Senate entirely and given to the House, where there is less legalism and more popular control. The ideal he feels is greater popular control over treaty-making, although he recognizes this as impossible until further edu-

cation has awakened the American people to a fuller realization of the increased importance of their foreign relations.

ROGER WILLIAMS: *Prophet and Pioneer.*
By Emily Easton. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930.
Pp. ix, 399. \$5.

The tercentenary of the settlement of the Massachusetts Bay Colony has stimulated the appearance of a multitude of studies relating to the early history of New England. Among these is Emily Easton's biography of Roger Williams. The reader will be disappointed if he expects to find very much about the "prophet and pioneer" in this work, for rather is it a reproduction of the scene in which he moved. Nearly a third of the book is devoted to a colorful story of the social life of England in the early seventeenth century when Roger Williams was growing up in the region of Smithfield and was a boy at the Charterhouse School. At maturity he moved to New England, and the author restores the New England picture in great detail. Williams's conflict with the Boston theocracy, his settlement among the Narragansetts, and his eventual organization of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations are set forth in due course. Occasionally Roger Williams, the individual, peers through the narrative, but for the most part the reader finds only glimpses of him in the overshadowing story of his times; actually the wood cannot be seen for the trees.

HINDENBURG: *The Man and the Legend.*
By Margaret Goldsmith and Frederick Voigt. New York: Macmillan, 1930.
\$3.50.

The outstanding impression of Hindenburg produced by this biography is that of a soldier whose entire life was dominated by unswerving loyalty to his monarch and devotion to his nation. The greater portion of the book is devoted to Hindenburg's part in the World War, and is a clear, unsentimental appraisal of his achievement. The chapter on the armistice and the German revolution is very moving in its description of Hindenburg's reactions to what were for him tragic events. There is tense drama in the scene when, in 1919, Hindenburg offered his services to Fritz Ebert, president of the new German Republic, but Hindenburg's own Presidency receives scanty treatment, though the forces, sentiments and conditions which made him President are presented satisfactorily. The authors have, without desiring to debunk, pointed out where Hindenburg's accomplishments were real, and where, as in the Battle of Tannenberg, a legend of glory has grown up on a basis of appearance rather than reality. The background of the picture of

unquestioning obedience to the commands of the Emperor and of the army is well sketched in the brief account of Hindenburg's early training—the stern atmosphere in his own home, and the relentless routine of the cadet school into which Hindenburg fitted without any questioning. His was a temperament that accepted commands and hardships without complaint or thought of complaint. The fact that, at nearly eighty years of age, he was able to accept the Presidency in spite of his personal devotion to the Kaiser is, when analyzed, obviously in keeping with his love for the Fatherland. This book is simply and well written and is undoubtedly a contribution to the constantly increasing Hindenburg material.

MRS. GRUNDY. *A History of Four Centuries of Morals Intended to Illuminate Present Problems in Great Britain and the United States.* By Leo Markum. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1930.
Pp. xii, 666. \$5.

In an extensive account, obviously written for popular consumption, Leo Markum traces the rise and fall of moral standards among Americans and their British forebears. A short introduction presents the religious background of "Anglo-Saxon" morality and points the way to a fuller discussion of morals or their absence during 400 years of English history. The reigns of Henry VIII and Charles II naturally receive their due attention. The scene is then shifted to America, where the surprising discovery is made that Americans have been no better than they should have been. One gathers the impression from reading this volume that generally our men have been men, and our women have been women; after all that is something.

MARY GLADSTONE: *Her Letters and Diaries.* Edited by Lucy Masterman. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1930. \$6.

This charming collection of Mary Gladstone's (Mrs. Drew's) letters and excerpts from her diaries is distinguished by the pleasant, easy flow of its comment. Such remarks as those on "Dizzy's tedious" answers to her father's "magnificent" addresses, or on a visit with Ruskin have all the quality of naturalness of spontaneity. "At 6, arrived Mr. Holland and Mr. Ruskin. We were all unspeakably shy and I soon vanished. Dinner was very interesting; I was between the two and Ruskin spoke just as he writes. Every word might be profitably written down. He has the most gentle and chivalrous manner and reminded me a good deal of Carlyle—the slow and soft stream of beautiful yet unaffected words, the sudden lighting up and splendid laugh." The diaries offer a delightful picture of the great Gladstone

at home, the tremendous affection of the family for him, the daily interest in his public life. On Jan. 24, 1874, she writes: "Thunderbolt. Dissolution of Parliament. Chuckling breakfast with papa and copious searching of newspapers. His address quite excellent. * * * [Several people] including Lord Acton, Mr. Lambert and Edward Hamilton and Mr. Peel dined—such shop, perfect gabble and volley of election talk." Another time she writes: "Saturday, July 22, 1871. All the Peers of England are fainting and paralyzed, the abolition of purchase [of army commissions] having become law without their august consent, an old provision giving the Crown power to legalize any bill about estimates without the upper house, and having been put into execution." It is a pleasant book, well worth an evening's reading.

DOWIE: ANOINTED OF THE LORD. By Arthur Newcomb. New York: The Century Company, 1930. Pp. 403. \$3.50.

Zion City, Ill., which has so often furnished bizarre newspaper copy, is now exposed in a novelized biography of its founder, John Alexander Dowie. The religious fanaticism of its founder and his influence on the thousands who joined "The Christian Catholic Church in Zion Throughout the World" (to give the denomination its full title) are vividly and dramatically described by Arthur Newcomb. Much of Dowie's career is neglected, but his picturesque part on the American scene is given in detail. Life in Zion City during its early history is also portrayed, without omitting any of the original color. This work is an entertaining contribution to a chapter in American social history.

MEXICAN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES: A Study of Human Migration and Adjustment. By Manuel Gamio. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1930. Pp. xviii, 262. \$3.

Manuel Gamio's study of Mexican immigration to the United States is of particular interest at a time when the subject is being debated in the press and the halls of Congress. Based on careful research and observation this volume presents a diversity of information on the Mexican immigrant. His cultural background, his religion, his manner of living are described and contrasted under Mexican and American conditions. His social and economic position in the United States is analyzed with considerable fullness. The author feels that transient immigration is of value to both countries. The United States is supplied with a type of labor which would be otherwise difficult to secure, and at the same time Mexico is relieved of the pressure of a too abundant labor supply. On the other hand, permanent immigration is

undesirable because it brings an unsimilable element into the United States and deprives Mexico of its best labor elements. Gamio concludes that through the cooperation of official, scientific and social groups all possible measures should be taken to restrict permanent, and to encourage transient migration.

THE BANK FOR INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENTS. By Paul Einzig. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1930. Pp. vii, 179. \$3.

This timely little book is concerned with the problems which will probably face the recently established International Bank. Einzig analyzes the proposed gold clearing system, the problem of a world bank rate, the possibility of credit inflation and the danger of political interference with the management of the bank. The chief danger to the bank, he feels, is the possibility of over-expansion of credit through political influence, but this is a danger that must be risked. In the long run much of the success or failure of the bank will depend on the ability of its managers to adapt themselves and their institution to changing conditions.

THE CHINA YEAR BOOK 1929-30. Edited by H. G. W. Woodhead. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1930. Pp. xxiii, 1,267. \$12.50.

An encyclopaedia of China is presented in this twelfth issue of the *China Year Book*. Social, economic and political material is presented exhaustively in an attempt to give a reasonably accurate and up-to-date survey of conditions within contemporary China. It is a work of great value for all who are interested in this restless nation of the Orient.

CHARLEMAGNE: First of the Moderns. By Charles Edward Russell. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930. Pp. ix, 305. \$4.

It would be strange if Charlemagne escaped study in the continuous flow of biography, even with the meager sources available for such a study. Russell has drawn on the classical accounts of Charlemagne and his period to present a popular, readable story of the great monarch whom he describes as the "first of the moderns." After a somewhat tedious account of the tumult and shouting into which Charles was born we are told the story of how Charles won his title "The Great." While attention is called to the wars and raids which made the empire possible, Russell emphasizes Charles's interests in the arts of peace. In the patronage of art and learning he led his State toward the

flowering of the Middle Ages. He saw the object of government as "the welfare of all the people governed" and in this he was a modern. From the Capitularies a character portrait of Charles is drawn, "self-drawn," to use Russell's term, showing the Emperor as a man of religious faith, of honesty, of courage, of ability, and above all, as a man solicitous for the welfare and improvement of his people. The book has much interest, but does little to give more than a shadowy portrait, a silhouette of Charlemagne.

The Month in Literature

By MALCOLM O. YOUNG

REFERENCE LIBRARIAN, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

OUR capital is becoming an intellectual centre. After keeping scholars of the country anxiously waiting for months, Congress voted \$1,500,000 for the purchase of the Otto Vollbehr collection of incunabula. This gives the Library of Congress, in addition to other rare books, one of the three vellum copies of the Gutenberg Bible. Henry C. Folger, who presented his unsurpassed collection of Shakespeare editions and "ana" to the United States, to be placed in a new building adjoining the Library of Congress, died in June, and his will provides a fund of \$10,000,000 to be administered by the trustees of Amherst College, his Alma Mater, for the development of the collection as a source of scholarly production.

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, world-famous as the creator of the character of Sherlock Holmes, died in England on July 7, 1930. A few weeks ago on his seventy-first birthday he said, "Holmes is dead. I have done with him." But the many volumes recounting the adventures of this Sherlock Holmes have been steady sellers since they began to appear forty years ago. It is estimated that *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* has sold well over a million copies in the United States alone. Conan Doyle was also well known as an advocate of spiritism.

The Pulitzer prizes do not include children's books. For ten years, however, the American Library Association has awarded the John Newbury Medal for the "most distinguished contribution to American literature for children." The recipient this year is Rachel Field for her *Hitty; a Hundred Year Old Doll*, a story to be enjoyed by many adults as well as children.

The Emily Dickinson legend grows. The latest contribution to the surmises as to the love affair of this New England poetess who until recently was not as well known in this country as abroad, is by Genevieve Taggard, *The Life and Mind of Emily Dickinson* (Knopf, \$4). Doris Ellen Jones (Mrs. Thorne) has published the *Life and Letters of Henry Arthur Jones*, her father (Gollancz). In the same group of dramatists is Sir Arthur Pinero, whose *Plays and Players* has been edited by Hamilton Fyfe (Benn). The long-awaited biography of Leigh Hunt by Edmund Blunden is now out (Cobden-Sanderson). Another important biography is H. J. Massingham's *The Friend of Shelley*, a memoir of Edward John Trelawney (Cobden-Sanderson). Quite different is Margaret Anderson's *My Thirty Years War* (Covici, \$4). This volume of memoirs by the founder of *The Little Review* is full of gossip reminiscences of her contemporaries, Joyce, Stein, Picasso and many others.

To those interested in Russia, aside from its political and social sides, there is *Voices of October* by Joseph Freeman and others (Vanguard, \$4), a survey of Soviet literature, drama, music, painting and moving pictures. The American poet and anthologist Louis Untermeyer has written a delightful travel book, *Blue Rhine, Black Forest* (Harcourt, \$2.50), including a collection of folk songs. Possibly ranked as travel is the beautiful essay, *A Walk to Horace's Sabine Farm* (Houghton, \$2.50). Zephine Humphrey, of *Mountain Verities*, and other Vermont essays, has written another book, *The Beloved Community* (Dutton, \$2.50), essays and stories of the same setting. A good book, in size and content, to put in a traveling bag, is *Familiar Essays of Today*, edited by B. A. Heydrick (Scribner, \$1), with Barrie, Leacock and others, on its list. The third series of *Chief Contemporary Dramatists*, is edited by Thomas Herbert Dickinson (Houghton, \$3.75). The modern version of Aristophanes's *Lysistrata*, by Gilbert Seldes, is in book form (Farrar & Rinehart, \$2). The dramatic critic, Walter Prichard Eaton, has written *The Drama in English* (Scribner, \$2), short chapters on dramatists and movements, with suggestive reading lists.

A beautifully done book of poetry is *New Found Land*, by Archibald MacLeish (Houghton, \$5). *The Oxford Book of*

Greek Verse is now published (Oxford), edited by such authorities as Gilbert Murray and Cyril Bailey. Charles Williams's *Poetry at Present* (Oxford, \$3), has an opportune chapter on Masfield, and also includes Hardy, Housman and the Sitwells. *The Hobo's Hornbook*, collected by George Milburn (Ives Washburn, \$3), contains tramp ballads, with music.

May Lamberton Becker has published *Golden Tales of Our America* (Dodd, \$2.50), stories illustrating the folk life of New England, the Middle West, the Southern Mountains, and so on, each by a well known writer. Two varying but worthwhile collections of short stories are Tristram Tupper's *A Storm at the Crossroad* (Lippincott, \$2.50), and Dorothy Parker's *Laments for the Living* (Viking, \$2.50). The latter is as disillusioned as her poetry. Don Marquis has published *Off the Arm* (Doubleday, \$2), and H. W. Hanemann *The Facts of Life* (Farrar & Rinehart, \$2.50). Hanemann's book is a series of parodies on authors, the one on Mary Roberts Rinehart's Tish being especially clever. The Spanish writer Miguel de Unamuno has published *Three Exemplary Novels and a Prologue* (Boni, \$2.50). This has an introduction on the art of the novel. Alfred Neumann's *Guerra* (Knopf, \$3), is a tale of the Carbonari of 1848. Felix Salten, whose *Bambi* was successful two years ago, has *The Hound of Florence* (Simon & Schuster, \$2.50) a fantasy in which the chief character becomes a dog on alternate days, the setting being Florence of the Renaissance. The days of the Armada give the background of *Beauvallet* (Longmans, \$2.50) by Georgette Heyer. Another successful novel with historical background, is *Crouchback* (Richard III) by Carola Oman (Mrs. Lenanton), while modern China is the setting of *The Port of Fragrance* by Putnam Weale (Bertram L. Simpson), than whom few know the East better. A few other books for Summer reading are *Sweet Man*, by Gilmore Millen (Viking, \$2.50), a realistic Negro story; *A Flock of Birds*, an Irish novel by Kathleen Coyle (Dutton, \$2.50), and H. G. Wells's *The Autocracy of Mr. Parham* (Doubleday, \$1), full of Wellsian humor, better than usual.

The group of war novels is large. Among the best are *Medal Without Bar*, by Richard Blake (Doubleday, \$2.50); *Her Privates We*, by Private 19022, an English soldier (Putnam, \$2.50); Franz Schau-

wecker's *Fiery Way* (Dutton, \$2.50), from the German point; R. H. Mottram's continuation of *Spanish Farm*, *Europa's Beast* (Chatto); Ferenc Imrey's *Through Blood and Ice*, by a Hungarian (Dutton, \$3.75). Another good collection of personal war stories is *Everyman at War*, edited by C. B. Purdom (Dutton, \$2.50).

Recent Important Books By MALCOLM O. YOUNG

BIOGRAPHY

BURROUGHS, HARRY E. *Tale of a Vanished Land*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1930. \$3.50.

The list of successful immigrants has a worthy addition in this writer. The author describes well his childhood in a Russian village under the old régime.

FORESTER, C. S. *Lord Nelson*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill. 1930. \$4.

A well-known career told with new material added from recently found letters.

VLADIMIRTSOV, B. Y. *Life of Chingis Khan*. London: Routledge. 1930. 6s.

A scholarly work on the same subject as portrayed in Harold Lamb's more readable account.

ECONOMICS

AMULREE, LORD (Sir William M. Mackenzie). *Industrial Arbitration in Great Britain*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1930. \$4.50.

The author (recently created first Baron Amulree) has acted as president of the Industrial Court for seven years as arbitrator in many industrial disputes and writes with authority.

BIRD, FREDERICK L., and RYAN, FRANCES M. *Public Ownership on Trial*. New York: New Republic. 1930. \$1.

A study of municipal light and power in California.

CLARK, VICTOR S., et al. *Porto Rico and Its Problems*. Washington: Brookings Institution. 1930. \$5.

A comprehensive compilation by authorities on economic condition, health, education and other aspects, and the chief problem being apparently that of the peasant-laborer.

HAIDER, CARMEN. *Capital and Labor Under Fascism*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1930. \$4.50.

An exhaustive study of this important side of the new régime. While the writer feels the accomplishments to be of advantage to the country, he also sees a dark side.

HUNT, EDWARD EYRE. *Audit of America: A Summary of Recent Economic Changes in the United States*. New York: McGraw-Hill. 1930. \$2.

This surveys the recent comprehensive

work, Recent Economic Changes in the United States, sent out by the Hoover Commission.

HISTORY

HART, B. H. LIDDELL. *The Real War*. London: Faber. 1930. 12s. 6d.

A one-volume, readable and dependable account of the great war. Good maps.

WARMOTH, HENRY CLAY. *War, Politics and Reconstruction: Stormy Days in Louisiana*. New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. \$3.50.

The years before, during and especially after the Civil War, making a stirring period.

POLITICS

CONDLIFFE, JOHN BELL, edited by. *Problems of the Pacific*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. 1930. \$5.

Proceedings of the third conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1929.

DE LA RUE, SIDNEY. *The Land of the Pepper Bird*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1930. \$3.50.

Liberia is the land, with description of the country and people, political and economic problems.

MADARIAGA, S. DE. *Spain*. London: Benn. 1930. 21s.

A new volume in the excellent Modern World Series. A historical background with present conditions.

SLY, JOHN FAIRFIELD. *Town Government in Massachusetts, 1620-1930*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1930. \$2.50.

An account of the picturesque and truly democratic institution still obtaining in New England.

SCIENCE

JAFFE, BERNARD. *Crucibles*. New York: Simon & Schuster. 1930. \$5.

Winner of Francis Bacon award. Thoroughly readable history of chemists and chemistry.

JENNINGS, H. S. *The Biological Basis of Human Nature*. New York: Norton. 1930. \$4.

For the non-scientific reader. An excellent book on the new theories of heredity and environment.

PSYCHOLOGIES OF 1930. Worcester: Clark University Press. 1930. \$6.

A survey of current theories and schools of psychology treated by specialists from Europe and the United States, many of them of outstanding note. This is the second volume of a series, the first appearing in 1925.

THOMAS OSWALD. *Heaven and Earth*. New York: Norton. 1930. \$2.75.

A readable astronomy for the layman. Includes aid for locating constellations and other bodies.

WILLIAMS, HENRY SMITH. *The Great Astronomers*. New York: Simon & Schuster. 1930. \$6.

For the layman. A history from the early mystic theories to the latest discov-

eries. The greatest emphasis on the latter.

SOCIOLOGY

FISHER, IRVING, and BROUGHAM, H. BRUCE. *The "Noble Experiment."* New York: Alcohol Information Committee. 1930. \$2.

Both sides are presented of every question arising in the prohibition situation, concluding with pro and con on several questions under the head "What Shall We Do About It?"

JOHNSON, CHARLES S. *The Negro in American Civilization*. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1930. \$4.

The results of long investigations, aimed to amend the questions: What is the Negro's status? Is he receiving justice? The last must often be answered in the negative. The problem is then well discussed in several aspects by authorities such as Raymond Pearl and W. E. B. Du Bois.

SENART, EMILE. *Caste in India*. London: Methuen. 1930. 8s. 6d.

A thorough survey, historical and descriptive, of a problem which, to the British Government, is of primary importance.

TAYLOR, GRAHAM. *Pioneering on Social Frontiers*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1930. \$4.30.

By an associate of Jane Addams.

MISCELLANEOUS

ADAMS, GEORGE PLIMPTON, and MONTAGUE, W. P. *Contemporary American Philosophy*. Two volumes. New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. \$2.

Thirty-four American philosophers present their contributions. The group contains some of the world's most able philosophers.

THE AMERICANA. 1930 *Annual*. New York: Americana Corporation. 1930. \$7.50.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL YEARBOOK. 1929. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1930. \$6.75.

Both treat in encyclopedic form events of the year 1929. The first without reason calls itself 1930 annual, a misleading statement, as it covers 1929.

HAMILTON, EDITH. *The Greek Way*. New York: Norton. 1930. \$3.

Greek achievements in political development, drama, culture in general. Excellent in giving perspective to what we have accomplished.

Points of View: A Series of Broadcast Addresses by G. Lowes Dickinson, Dean Inge, H. G. Wells, J. B. S. Haldane, Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir Walford Davies. London: Allen & Unwin. 1930. 4s. 6d.

Stimulating addresses on their philosophies of life, by a number of thinkers.

ROSEWATER, VICTOR. *History of Cooperative Newsgathering in the United States*. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1930. \$3.50.

A history never before well covered from the earliest beginnings in the early nineteenth century.

To and From Our Readers

[The Editor assumes no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by return postage. Anonymous communications will be disregarded, but the names of correspondents will be withheld from publication upon request.]

GERMANY'S ECONOMIC POSITION

To the Editor of *Current History*:

Extraordinarily naïve is Mr. G. McK. McClellan's article, "The Rebirth of Disarmed Germany," in your May issue.

Mr. McClellan's thesis, as I understand it, is this: "The crucial factor" in Germany's economic recovery is its "enforced freedom from military burdens." Further, this is "unanswerable proof that any developed nation or economic group need only be relieved of military aims and burdens and released to the free use of its inherent resources in order to achieve rapidly economic prosperity and social well-being." It is my impression that Mr. McClellan is primarily interested in presenting an illustration of the benefits of disarmament. Is it impossible to do this without resorting to striking inaccuracies in the presentation of evidence and to a most amazing logic? Surely Mr. McClellan cannot be serious when he attributes the generally upward trend of the German economy since 1924 to the military and naval clauses of the Treaty of Versailles? *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc?*

A "simple arithmetic" is all that Mr. McClellan needs in order to prove that "in industrial and commercial power the German Reich will presently excel both France and England." Now, this prophecy may come true. But the evidence presented in its support is curious. By means not at all clear, Mr. McClellan shows that Germany has, or soon will have, an "unburdened internal industry." Apparently it has arrived, or will arrive, at this happy state because the annual reparation payments, under the Young plan, are to be less, in terms of money, than the annual military budgets of France and England! Of course, Mr. McClellan must be aware of the difference between a foreign tribute and a domestic expenditure. The largest part of the wealth paid as reparation goes completely from Germany and does not return. Military expenditures, however, are largely domestic and are not an economic loss in the same sense as reparation payments. It is not evident how one can compare these economically different outlays in order to indicate relative national burdens.

Mr. McClellan may not know that, in fact, there is evidence that the real weight of German taxation and reparation charges may be heavier than the tax charges of any other country in the world. Again, Mr. McClellan declares that "not only is Germany's former heavy military budget

now available to offset reparation payments but her released man power gives an additional wealth production." Germany is not at all "relieved of military burdens" today, although Mr. McClellan asserts that Germany has "neither army nor navy." Is it possible that a contributor to your publication can be so amazingly misinformed, or is this literary license? The Reich's expenditures for its army and navy in the fiscal years 1927-28, 1928-29 and 1929-30 were, respectively, 705,899,000, 724,681,000 and 665,657,000 reichsmarks. That is, the average annual military and naval budget during the last three years has been approximately \$166,000,000 and amounted to roughly 7 per cent of the Reich's total expenditures. Mr. McClellan would have done well to examine the Statistical Yearbooks of the German Reich before labeling Germany as a country "with neither army nor navy," economically rehabilitated by "freedom from military burdens."

Does Mr. McClellan know the nature of Germany's "released man-power"? Does Mr. McClellan know that the number of State-supported unemployed workers in Germany during the seventy-seven months since the beginning of 1924 has fallen below 200,000 in only one month, has ranged between 200,000 and 1,000,000 during thirty-eight months and has been between 1,000,000 and 2,500,000 during another thirty-eight months? The national economy must support these unfortunate people, even if meagerly on slender individual subsidies. Is it really preferable to be obliged to support a vast standing army of demoralized unemployed than a standing army of soldiers? After all, military training does have some very definite advantages for the physical and mental training of the recruit!

Mr. McClellan regards the contemporary German economy with glowing optimism. Indeed, a very substantial recovery has been effected since 1924. However, according to Mr. McClellan's own implications, an important consideration in evaluating an economy is the welfare of the individual man. A national economy which for years is incapable of offering full employment, and all that it means, to all its willing workers, should not be characterized sweepingly as "rehabilitated." Satisfactory indices of production and trade are not the only marks of social well-being.

Surely it does not seem extravagant to say that foreign capital and a capacity for intelligent work have been important factors in the convalescence of the German

economy since the fever of inflation. But it is extravagant to maintain that here we have "an illuminating example of cause and effect," and "unanswerable proof that any developed nation or economic group need only be relieved of military aims and burdens and released to the free use of its inherent resources in order to achieve rapidly economic prosperity and social well-being." Disarmament may make for increased economic productivity, *ceteris paribus*. But it does seem too much to say that there is here a definite cause-and-effect relationship, and to base the "proof" upon the example of a post-war Germany. How does Mr. McClellan explain the remarkable upswing of the economy of "military" Germany in the decades after 1870? Or, indeed, the post stabilization prosperity of "military" France? Would these economic developments have been vastly more pronounced had these countries been disarmed? I doubt it.

I am not interested in "proving" the existence of any set of relationships between military armaments and a national economy. But I am interested in protesting against slipshod economic analysis. Unfortunately, there is already too much "proof" of rigid cause-and-effect relationships in economics. Attractively simple explanations of social phenomena may have a certain utility, but they must be regarded with vigilant skepticism. And if such explanations be attended by gross inaccuracies, they cannot have the slightest pretensions to scientific validity.

There is as much need for straight thinking in the study of economics as in the study of astronomy—and perhaps more need for scrupulous avoidance of personal preferences!

CARL THEODORE SCHMIDT.

Amerika Institut, Berlin, Germany.

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CONDITIONS IN CHINA

To the Editor of Current History:

The causes of Chinese civil war have been discussed by many writers in American periodicals. Readers of CURRENT HISTORY will perhaps recall an article on that subject in the January issue written by Mr. W. Y. Peng, a Chinese scholar. Of Chinese domestic strife the author listed four important causes, namely, transportation difficulties, militarists' interference, government under dictatorship, and foreign powers' influence. Mr. Hallett Abend's article in the July number does not throw much additional light upon this seemingly popular topic. In fact, it is just a picture of the pitiful and hopeless China. "What is wrong with China?" may be a better title for this article, although the contents are much narrower in scope than Mr. Rodney Gilbert's sensational book.

Mr. Abend, as resident correspondent of *The New York Times* at Peking, no longer Peking (under this old name Mr. Abend has been sending out Chinese news, disregarding the change of name absolutely) is, I am afraid, somewhat out of touch with other local news in the general trend of events. Perhaps he generally confines his personal investigations in and around Peiping. And, no doubt, he is confronted with the difficulty of understanding the leading Chinese dialects through which only the real significance of current events can be appreciated. Unless the foreign correspondent masters the Chinese language, it is next to impossible for him to interpret Chinese events from both the foreign and Chinese viewpoints. He is apt to be astonished by the dis-

turbing events which move swiftly in front of his eyes. So he is easy to fall into the habit of jumping into conclusions like this: "It is probable no man living today will witness the end of civil strife and the founding of a stable government exerting real authority in a united China." In making this blind guess the writer is entirely oblivious of the constructive forces that shape the destiny of China. Yes, there are unseen forces and silent workers now at work in various phases of national life. The fruits of their incessant labor will bring order out of chaos.

The American public and thinking people should demand not merely sensational news, but also reliable information about foreign countries. By taking a foreign viewpoint in the interpretation and analysis of foreign news, the newspaper correspondent will soon discover new interest for the readers. So long as Americans think China is hopelessly chaotic, China will not appeal to American business men as a vast market for trade and investment. So long as China is known to the United States as a nation infested by famine, banditry and fighting, the friendly relations of these two countries cannot rest upon a firm foundation. In truly understanding China and her problems, the American people must go beneath the surface of current events which, unfortunately, are often distorted and exaggerated in the press reports.

WILLIAM L. SHEN.
Chinese Trade Bureau, Boston, Mass.

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SOVIET RUSSIA'S RECORD

To the Editor of Current History:

I read the article in your July, 1930, issue, "Soviet's Twelve Years (Official)," by Boris Skvirsky, director Soviet Union Information Bureau, Washington, D. C. I must express my profound surprise at this article being given credence by your selection for publication, without requiring the author of the article to show what portion of the accomplishments therein depicted should be allocated to confiscation and massacre.

I am very much surprised that either you or Washington authorities would allow the publication as official of Soviet Russia's accomplishments without a disclosure of the methods resorted to in making any particular showing of accomplishments possible.

As a subscriber I think I have the right to enter my protest even though you consign it to the waste basket.

JOHN W. HELBIG.

Denver, Col.

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To the Editor of Current History:

I believe there are many who will thoughtfully read the remarkable article by Boris Skvirsky on the "Soviet's Twelve Years," in your July issue.

As we all know, Russia's stupendous social experiment is under keen observation by a very interested world—a world that is very probably alarmed at the magnitudinous results this experiment may eventually attain. The five-year plan was met with guffaws and choice bits of sarcasm by the outside world when first announced; now, however, there is a strained silence, and strange thoughts blossom in the minds of men.

So many times have we been led to believe that the Red rule was tottering on the brink of destruction that now, looking

at it in broader daylight, we are almost swinging to the other extreme.

Akron, Ohio.

JOHN PODA.

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SOVIET RULE IN RUSSIA

To the Editor of *Current History*:

Readers of Walter Russell Batsell's book, *Soviet Rule in Russia*, cannot help agreeing that its chief defect is its lack of an impartial appraisal of the Soviet structure and that the valuable portion of the book, that is, the reprint of Soviet documents, is vitiated by Mr. Batsell's anything but scholarly comments and statements.

One could fill pages with the mere enumeration of his erroneous assertions, such as: "On Nov. 9, 1906 * * * the Czar issued a ukase suppressing the *Mir* (p. 10, footnote 13), or "An attempted offensive in July [1917] led by certain Ministers who had been sent to Kiev against the Germans" (p. 30), or, on the same page: "The revolutionary movements carried on since the time of the Nihilists under Alexander I." As a sample of his scholarship one may cite his reiterated accusation of Masonic orders in having plotted the downfall of autocratic Russia. His solemn statement: "History will be likely to give full prominence to plans for the destruction of Russia formulated at the Masonic Congress held at Brussels a few years before the beginning of the World War," he bases on such a source as Father Walsh's *The Fall of the Russian Empire* (p. 20). In this connection he indorses as "unassailable" the works on secret societies by N. H. Webster and Herbert Vivian and by the notorious Jew-baiter, N. E. Markov, champion of the *Zion Protocols* (p. 39).

Mr. Batsell occasionally supports his audacious statements by reference to "personal channels of information" (p. 32). It is not difficult to surmise that his informants belong to the typical *cidevants*, who ascribe all the misfortunes of Russia to secret societies and to the machinations of the "non-Slavic" elements, notably the Jews. Mr. Batsell is entitled to his views, but is there anything scholarly about his claim that the "seemingly predominant" non-Slavic strain in the Petrograd Soviet caused the renunciation of imperialistic ambitions (p. 23), or that Lenin "wanted to destroy at the roots every reminder of Russia's Slavic or 'hated past'" (p. 27), or that Tereshchenko is a Georgian (p. 22), or that Lenin and Trotsky acted in a vengeful spirit (pp. 35-49), or that because of the power of Georgians, the Jews having been deposed, "Russians of Slavic descent are still not their own masters"?

It is a pity that Archibald Cary Coolidge, to whom the book is dedicated, died before he could go over the manuscript of his pupil. Certainly he would have corrected Mr. Batsell's linguistic errors. One appreciates the difficulties with the Russian language, and one might overlook his amusing confusion of cases and genders. But his audacity waxes prodigious when he blames these difficulties on the Russian "legal language" and on the allegation personal channels of information (?) that "a great part of Soviet legislation * * * was evidently drafted in some cases by persons to whom Russian was not a native language."

ALEXANDER KAUN,
Department of Slavic Languages, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

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CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS

To the Editor of *Current History*:

In Mr. Poland's article on "The United States Constitution and State Legisla-

tures," published in the June *CURRENT HISTORY*, he devotes one short paragraph to the momentous question of the power of the Federal judiciary to compel Congress to call a constitutional convention, thirty-two States having made application therefor. He closes by suggesting that the question would be "speedily answered" if the courts would grant such a writ of mandamus.

Such a suggestion appears absurd. Common sense dictates that one of the three coordinate departments of the Federal Government should not exercise such authority over either of the other two—more especially in political matters, as distinguished from those purely ministerial. In the case of *Mississippi vs. Johnson* the court held that it could not enjoin the President from enforcing the reconstruction acts in the South. According to this case, "Neither [Congress nor the President] can be restrained in its action by the judicial department * * *." The judiciary could no more enforce the performance of duty upon Congress or the President than it could restrain the passage of unconstitutional laws or the President's illegal acts.

The most prized of the magazines I receive: *CURRENT HISTORY*, truly the forum of public affairs. CHARLES F. SPENCER.

East Central State College, Ada, Okla.

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WHERE AMERICA LEADS

William E. Rappard, director of the Post-Graduate Institute of International Studies and Member Mandates Commission League of Nations, writes:

I know of no newspaper in the world which from day to day described and discussed the London naval conference with such a wealth of detail and argument as *The New York Times*. In respect to periodicals, I know of no non-American magazines comparable, on their respective planes, either to *Foreign Affairs* or to *CURRENT HISTORY*. I see no institutions, outside of America, so well devised for their different purposes as, for instance, the Foreign Policy Association, the Williamstown Institute of Politics and the Institute of Pacific Relations. And in no university of the Old World are so many courses offered on current events and international relations as at Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Princeton and Yale, to mention but five of the foremost American seats of learning.

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THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

To the Editor of *Current History*:

In the July number of *CURRENT HISTORY* you refer to the late Archbishop of Canterbury as "the Very Reverend." The proper title for an Archbishop in the Church of England is "the Most Reverend"; for a Bishop, "the Right Reverend," and for a Dean, "the Very Reverend." The title under the picture of Bishop Davidson should have read: The Most Reverend Randall Thomas Davidson, D. D.; and this leaves out any title due him as a "Lord." But it does cover his ecclesiastical office.

S. S. HARDY.

St. Paul's Rectory, Marion, Ohio.

World Finance—A Month's Survey

By BERNHARD OSTROLENK

EDITORIAL BOARD, *The Annalist*; FORMER LECTURER ON FINANCE,
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE REPORT BY the United States Department of Commerce on "The Balance of International Payments of the United States in 1929," was issued late in June. The United States Government is the only country in the world that has for the past eight years tried to strike a balance on international payments and the Secretary of Commerce remarks in his foreword: "It is no longer necessary to justify these investigations of our international economy. If the leading countries of the world, including the United States, had all begun similarly painstaking statements twenty years ago some of the controversies on international finance in late years might never have arisen."

These reports are significant because they deal with our international trade from all angles. They look upon imports as a method of paying for exports, and the figures, though stupendous in their magnitude, are reduced to the simple formula that in the main payments for goods and services to foreign countries consist of a return of goods and services from them. Though we sold during 1929 a total of \$7,300,000,000 worth of goods and commodities to foreign countries, the total gold settlement amounted to about \$120,000,000, or 1.6 per cent of the total.

Exports exceeded imports by \$734,000,000, but this item, favorable to the United States, was balanced by an increase of investments in foreign countries of American capital totaling \$782,000,000. Foreigners paid to American private investors interest on their foreign invested capital during the year totaling \$562,000,000, and American tourists balanced this payment by spending \$565,000,000 abroad, exclusive of payments for passage on American vessels and for customs declaration of returning tourists. Americans paid to foreign shipowners \$115,000,000 for freight and sent to their friends abroad

another \$223,000,000 in the form of immigrant remittances, a total of \$338,000,000; but foreigners reciprocated by increasing their investments in American securities during the year by \$396,000,000. In the aggregate, therefore, the picture here presented is one of international trade on a gigantic scale whereby Americans sell their goods and services abroad and in return buy goods and services. Excess of imports over exports forms one of the largest credit items and, though the largest with two exceptions since the World War, is 13.6 per cent less than the preceding year. Interest on American private funds abroad (\$976,000,000) forms the largest single credit item in 1929 and one that has been steadily growing. It is 8.4 per cent larger than the preceding year and 64.3 per cent larger than in 1923.

During 1929 \$500,000,000 less net American capital went abroad than in the preceding year and net capital exports were the lowest since 1923. Altogether, almost \$7,500,000,000 of private American capital is now invested in Europe. This large flow of capital, to rehabilitate commerce, trade and industry abroad, no doubt has had no little share in the rebuilding of the European industrial machine. The present industrial depression in Europe and America may in part be attributed to an overdevelopment of productive capacities through American capital.

Net balances in favor of foreign freight in 1929 were the largest on record and are 30 per cent larger than the preceding year. They show that little progress is being made by those who argue for an American merchant marine. The invisible item, expenditures of American tourists abroad, is increasing every year and now for the second time has exceeded \$500,000,000. France apparently is the most attractive country to American tourists and receives \$137,000,000; United Kingdom is a bad

second with \$47,355,000; then comes Germany with \$44,676,000 and Italy with \$30,433,000. Immigrant remittances go mostly to Italy, Greece, Poland, Hungary, the Irish Free State, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Germany. American capital flowed mostly to the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Belgium, Switzerland and Italy.

The first financial statement of the Bank of International Settlements, issued on July 7, shows total resources of 1,085,721,000 Swiss francs, equivalent to \$210,000,000 in United States currency. The capital of the bank totals 102,500,000 Swiss francs and the largest liability is the undistributed portion of the recent German international loan, amounting in American currency to \$30,000,000. When the loan was issued a large part of it remained in the countries taking the bonds as German debt payments, and transfers therefore were, to a large degree, eliminated.

There are deposits from the German Government under trust agreement and sight deposits from central banks. These deposits are not expected to increase greatly but are to act as reserves for transfer of credits and thus reduce the necessity of international gold shipments.

Among the assets are deposits of the B. I. S. in other central banks, presumably those holding the bank's stock. According to statements issued when plans for the bank were first formulated, it is planned to stabilize the international money markets in relation to each other through the instrument of depositing B. I. S. funds in various countries. There is much doubt that the object can be attained by this means, since the bank may operate in foreign countries only with the permission of the central bank, and the item will be watched with interest.

The bank also has taken advantage of the provision in the charter permitting it to deal in acceptances and has now about \$460,000,000. The statement does not show the currency in which the acceptances were purchased. The bank also holds a large portion of liquid

paper. No indication is given of the rate of interest paid on deposits of central banks.

There is considerable speculation how often these bank statements will be issued. European central banks and the United States Federal Reserve Banks issue statements every week. There seems no insuperable obstacle in the way of a weekly statement by the B. I. S., though the peculiar nature of its liabilities may make it advisable to publish the statements less frequently. The statement is not nearly as complete and comprehensive as those issued by the Federal Reserve Banks and compares more with the briefer statement usually issued by the Bank of England. In fact it may be said here that no central bank in the world issues so full a statement of its financial condition as do the Federal Reserve Banks.

Heavy imports of gold into France, which have characterized the French financial situation for the past two years, are looked on as an unwelcome problem by financiers and statesmen, and steps are again being taken to create an international financial centre in Paris to neutralize the ill effect of this flow. On July 5 the gold holdings of the Bank of France stood at 44,100,000,000 francs, compared with 28,900,000,000 on June 25, 1928. The inflow has been steadily rising since the stabilization of the franc in July, 1928. The bank rate, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, is the lowest in Europe and is one indication of the easy position of money. Another significant indication is the oversubscription by 158 times of the French portions of the shares of the Bank of International Settlements. For an operation involving less than 50,000,000 francs almost 8,000,000,000 francs were subscribed. In fact this very oversubscription caused a renewed inflow of gold because subscriptions had to be accompanied by sufficient remittances to cover the value of the shares asked for, a sum which became temporarily immobilized and forced French banks to draw on their accounts in London. Partly as a result of this £11,500,000 in gold was shipped across the Channel.